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The American Historical Review

BUSINESS TRAINING IN MEDIEVAL OXFORD

IN 1432 the University of Oxford regulated the position of those teachers who instructed their pupils principally in the arts of writing and Latin composition, of speaking French, of drafting charters and similar documents, of keeping courts for laymen, and of pleading in the English manner.[1] Since little seems to be known of either teachers or taught, and that little has, I fear, been misconceived,[2] it may be useful to say something of Thomas Sampson, who was actively engaged in teaching these subjects in the second half of the fourteenth century. Sampson was, I think, a successful teacher; he was certainly a prolific writer, though his works, which have not entirely escaped attention, have not been studied as a whole, nor has their significance been realized.[3]

Let me, to begin with, draw upon him for some indications of what I take to be fairly typical pupils. Letters are exchanged between two brothers. The elder has made the acquaintance at court of a man of position and has gone abroad with him. Now he has been appointed the steward of his patron's household and is returning with him to England, but unfortunately the young man is not expert in the duties of his new post and is at a loss to know what to do. So he turns to his brother and urges him to make every effort to learn writing, accounting, and composition so that he may help his elder to keep the reckon-

[1] Strickland Gibson, *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1931), p. 240.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. lxxxvii; Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (2d ed., Oxford, 1936), III, 162.

[3] Wilhelm Uerkvitz employed four manuscripts of Sampson's works for his doctoral dissertation, *Tractate zur Unterweisung in der anglo-normannischen Briefschreibekunst* (Greifswald, 1898). In a recent paper, "Thomas Sampson and the *Orthographia Gallica*", in *Medium Aevum* (VI, 1937, 193-209), Dr. Ivor D. O. Arnold has described two other manuscripts. Other bibliographical references will be found in the Appendix to this article. See also my article, "An Oxford Teacher of the Fifteenth Century", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. XXIII, no. 2 (Oct., 1939).

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ing of his lord's expenditure and write his letters. The younger brother is nothing loath to undertake this work, but his own accomplishments are limited, and he needs six months at the schools to fit himself for the task; and, since he can look for no help from his parents and has no resources of his own, his brother must find the means.[4] Not all pupils were as needy as this. Another is pictured as having gone up to Oxford to read for a degree in arts, but his father has heard from the earl of W., who is prepared to take the young man into his service the following year. So the father writes and tells his son to put himself under Thomas Sampson to learn writing, composition, and accounting and to pay his master 100 shillings to ensure that he will be well taught.[5] A third young man is told by his father to spare neither labor nor expense in perfecting himself in the subjects Sampson teaches, and he is bidden to reflect that in these days knowledge is mightier than money.[6] But without money it was no use applying to Thomas Sampson, who regulated his instruction by what he received and did not expect his pupils to stay with him for more than the minimum time needed for their training. They were intent on earning their living as soon as possible; they would start with a little rudimentary knowledge—"scolares competenter in gramatica solummodo", as the statutes of 1432 put it—and they came to Oxford for the intensive cramming in business methods which the teachers of this art were ready to give. "Thomas Sampson suos discipulos informare non cessat".[7]

It is probable that we should identify our man with the Thomas Sampson whose name appears in a subsidy roll of 1380, when he was living in modest prosperity with his wife Isabel in the suburbs of Oxford.[8] The name, it is true, seems not to have been an uncommon one. There was, for example, a Thomas Sampson at Oxford in 1325, a doctor of civil law,[9] who appears to be identifiable with the king's clerk

[4] Ee. IV. 20, ff. 172*b*-173 (see Appendix below, no. 2).

[5] Ee. IV. 20, f. 157*b* (App., no. 6; printed in *Medium Aevum*, VI, 206). In another letter the fee is 40 shillings (Longleat 37, f. 52*b*; App., no. 14).

[6] Royal 17 B. XLVII, f. 44*b* (App., no. 15).

[7] Bodl. 832, f. 1 (App., no. 16).

[8] *Oxford City Documents*, Oxford Historical Society (Oxford, 1891), p. 43. The fact that his assessment was 3*s*. shows that his income was above the average, although he was far from being a wealthy man. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that in a form for assignment of dower in two "cartuariae" of Sampson's, some years later in date, we find Isabel, wife of T.S., clerk (Lansdowne 560, f. 10*b*, and St. John's Coll. 19. I, f. 11; App., nos. 30 and 32).

[9] *Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series (2 vols., London, 1868), I, 114; *Snappe's Formulary*, Oxford Hist. Soc. (Oxford, 1924), pp. 72-73.

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and canon of York of that name.[10] But he was dead by 1350,[11] and I have not traced another Thomas Sampson at Oxford in the later fourteenth century except our Thomas, who never calls himself *magister* and who claims no higher dignity than that of scholar of the university. This seems to mean that, like other teachers of less advanced subjects—grammar and rhetoric—he had not proceeded to the degree of bachelor of arts.[12] There is no reason to suppose that he had taken vows or was subject to any university statute which would have prevented him from marrying.[13] As we shall see, there is some indication in his writings that he was, in fact, married.[14] In 1377 he refers to himself as young in knowledge but old in years, although, since he is contriving a poetical contrast with the prophet Daniel, we must not take this too literally;[15] and he seems still to have been active in the opening years of the fifteenth century.

The earliest glimpse we have of him follows an account of the

[10] *Foedera* (4 vols., London, 1816-69), II, pt. ii, pp. 794, 806, 870, 947. There are many other references to this Thomas.

[11] *Calendar of Petitions to the Pope,* Rolls Series (London, 1896), I, 194, 197, 199.

[12] Of these teachers we have little knowledge in the medieval period, presumably because they ceased to be of importance before the end of the fifteenth century. See Gibson, pp. lxxxv-lxxxviii; H. E. Salter, ed., *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford,* Oxford Hist. Soc. (Oxford, 1920-21), II, 278-79.

[13] This again is a subject of obscurity. We know, however, from the *Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483,* ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (2 vols., London, 1919), I, 21, that the master of a grammar school at Oxford might be married in the later fourteenth century. I suspect, indeed, that the married schoolmaster who boarded his pupils was of long standing in England. One such in Lancaster was, in 1288, accused of having forced a pupil to marry his daughter (Assize Roll no. 408, m. 93). A married "doctor puerorum" was drowned at Oxford in 1301 when gathering rods wherewith to chastise his pupils (*Oxford City Documents,* pp. 161-62). For other examples of married schoolmasters in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915), pp. 210, 244, 253, 276. In 1459 it was agreed that any clerk or scholar of Oxford having a wife and household within the precinct of the university was to be taxed with the burgesses (*Mediaeval Archives,* I, 245); this practice was not likely to be of recent origin and would account for Sampson's appearance on the roll of 1380.

[14] My suggestion is that a man vowed to celibacy would not be likely to include in model letters, intended for the instruction of his pupils, references to his sons and daughters.

[15] Harl. 4971, f. 34*b* (App., no. 22): "qar jeo ne suy qe jeosnes hommes de savoir tot soit qe jeo suy veile d'age, en contrariant a seint Daniel q'estoit veil du savoir et juyn d'age". A few years later his examples of metaphors include "Sampson senectute marcessit [*for* marcescit]: Sampson transiuit semitas iuuentutis: in Sampsone iuuentutis flosculi, prodolor!, euanescunt" (Longleat 37, f. 43, App., no. 14, printed in *Medium Aevum,* VI, 195).

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battle of Neville's Cross, to which this note is appended: "cest lettre fist Thomas Samson del dit bataille et l'envoia a ses amis".[16] Knowing how freely he introduced his name into his own compositions, it seems unlikely that this letter can be by any other hand than that of the future teacher at Oxford, and it is natural to suppose that he was either present at the battle or near enough to gain first-hand news of it. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the letter is an exercise working up other men's material, but in any case it indicates that our Thomas Sampson was already of man's estate in 1346 and suggests that he was in the service of some noble lord and was for a time following the career for which he was to train many generations of young Englishmen. In the early 1380's he seems to have been acting as clerk to the university, but nothing has come to light to indicate how long he continued in that capacity.[17] Employment of this kind would be casual only and would not be likely to be remunerative. His business in life continued to be teaching.

It is obvious that Thomas Sampson's voluminous writings have many autobiographical touches. His name is constantly occurring in the formulas and model documents he sets before his pupils. His purpose may have been self-advertisement, for which we could hardly blame a man with wife and family to keep by precarious private teaching, but this method of his also had, we may guess, the intention of making his instruction more vivid and actual to his pupils. It is indeed possible that where Thomas Sampson figures in his model deeds as one party, the name the other party bears may be that of a pupil. The kings, queens, princes, earls, bishops, and barons he introduces seem, as a general rule, to be those actually living at the time, and when he supplies a date it seems to be that of his own day; where there is a departure from this rule, it may be due to transcribers and adapters and not to Sampson, who appears to have had no hesitation about introducing real personages into his fictions. Let me instance a treatise of his on the art of composing letters in French: here we have King

[16] Bodley 302, f. 142*b*. A fifteenth-century copy (lacking the list of names at the end) is among Bishop Beckington's collections (Ashmole 789, f. 160), and there is a modern transcript from Bodley 302 at the Public Record Office, London, among the Petrie MSS., Bundle 11, no. 105.

[17] In the accounts of University College for Michaelmas, 1382, to Michaelmas, 1383, there is an entry "in vino dato Thome Sampson pro scriptura litterarum, iiij.d." (I owe this information to Dr. H. E. Salter.) This disposes me to accept as accurate the description of "scriba noster" applied to Sampson in a supposititious letter from the university to John of Gaunt contained in Longleat 37, f. 46*b* (App., no. 14). The date is about 1381-85.

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Edward III, Queen Philippa, Edward, prince of Wales, Henry, duke of Lancaster, William, earl of Northampton, Thomas, earl of Warwick, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas, bishop of Durham—all real names and titles of people living between March, 1351, and September, 1360.[18] We seem justified, therefore, in ascribing this work to the 1350's. But a later version has come down to us with fresh model letters, and here the duke of Lancaster is named John; since Philippa is still queen and the archbishop of Canterbury is Simon, the date of the revision would seem to lie between November, 1362, when John of Gaunt was created duke, and November, 1368, when Simon Langham resigned his archbishopric.[19] Another treatise dealing with the composition of letters in Latin appears to come from the same period, since the pope is Urban (the fifth of that name having been consecrated in November, 1362), the archbishop of Canterbury is Simon, and both the archbishop of York and the bishop of Lincoln are John.[20] A similar treatise includes model letters dated 20 Richard II and 1396.[21] A treatise on conveyancing gives the day on which the feast of St. Matthew fell in 49 Edward III as Friday, which is correct.[22] Such precision in naming contemporaries living within a short space of time, in equating regnal and dominical years and even a festival and a weekday, cannot be a matter of chance, and we need have no misgivings in using such indications to tell us the approximate dates of Sampson's compositions. Leaving aside the letter on Neville's Cross, they come continuously from his pen from soon after the middle of the fourteenth century until 1409.[23] There is no indication that he was alive after this. If, as I have suggested, we can rely on this evidence, Sampson was at the time of his death eighty years of age or more, having been born about the beginning of the reign of Edward III or possibly earlier.

While, as I have said, there are many autobiographical touches in Sampson's works, few of them reflect actual incidents in his career but rather the life around him, and particularly the life of Oxford. When,

[18] Harl. 4971, ff. 13*b*-14*b*, 17*b*, 21 (App., no. 1). "W. bishop of B., treasurer of England" (f. 18) seems to stand for William Edington, bishop of Winchester, treasurer until November 27, 1356.

[19] Ee. IV. 20, ff. 169, 174*b*, 175 (App., no. 2).

[20] Harl. 4993, ff. 10*b*, 11, 13*b*, 14, 15-17 (App., no. 10). The nomenclature is not, however, consistent.

[21] Royal 17 B. XLVII, ff. 46*b*-47 (App., no. 15).

[22] Royal App. 85, f. 4 (App., no. 25).

[23] Royal 10 B. IX, ff. 13-18 (App., no. 38). I have noted the approximate dates of his compositions in the list of manuscripts in the Appendix.

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for example, Thomas Sampson demises a tenement adjoining two of the halls of the university, we are not to suppose that he owned property on that site.[24] Nor should we assume that he ever occupied Ludlow Hall, although we find him making a contract for a wall between the gardens of that house and the adjoining Little University Hall.[25] These are names that an Oxford man, and only an Oxford man, would know, as familiar to him in his walks along High Street as the turnings on either side of St. Mary the Virgin, Cat Street, and Schools Street, which come in other model deeds of Sampson's composition,[26] as familiar as Adam of Tonworth, the chancellor of the university, who makes his appearance elsewhere.[27] All this is, as it were, the painting on the back cloth of the little stage of fourteenth century Oxford. The figure who postures before it and is labeled Thomas Sampson is no more than a puppet. The real Thomas might, of course, have been defrauded by a servant he had engaged in his hall at Oxford on Monday after All Saints, 1383;[28] he might have had sons named Thomas and John and three daughters as well.[29] But it is unlikely that, while he was teaching at Oxford, he was seeking for a corody[30] or, if we are right in believing him to be married, a church at Winchester.[31] And we cannot suppose that he was appointed registrar to the bishop of Lincoln,[32] or that he was engaged to teach royal children to write,[33] or that John of Gaunt requested the university to place at his disposal

[24] Royal App. 85, f. 8*b* (App., no. 25). These *aule Universitatis* in the parish of St. Peter's in the East cannot be precisely identified; for the situation of the halls on the present site of University College see the plan at page 64 of William Carr's *University College* (London, 1902).

[25] Harl. 4993, f. 51*b* (App., no. 29). These halls fronted on High Street. Ludlow Hall was purchased by the university in 1336 but was not included in the college until about 1391; in 1392 the wall between the two gardens was demolished (Carr, pp. 35, 49).

[26] Harl. 4993, f. 27; Ee. IV. 20, f. 133; Lansdowne 560, f. 38 (App., nos. 20, 21, 35).

[27] Royal 10 B. IX, ff. 20*b*-21*b* (App., no. 38): "Adam de T. cancellarius Universitatis Oxoniensis". Tonworth was three times chancellor between 1366 and 1377 (*Snappe's Formulary*, pp. 329-30).

[28] Ee. IV. 20, f. 158*b* (App., no. 6).

[29] Royal App. 85, ff. 5*b*, 7*b*; Harl. 4993, ff. 47, 48*b* (App., nos. 25 and 29).

[30] Royal App. 85, f. 10; Harl. 4993, ff. 51-51*b*.

[31] Harl. 4383, ff. 56*b*-57 (App., no. 13).

[32] Harl. 4993, f. 49*b* (App., no. 29). Of course, since we find Thomas Sampson as abbot, sheriff, etc., we realize that the use of his name is merely a device for marking his authorship.

[33] B. 14. 40, ff. 178-178*b* (App., no. 17). Here Sampson is a beneficed clerk and is to be excused residence because he has been appointed to teach the children of Richard II.

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the services of his beloved clerk Thomas Sampson, teacher of writing and composition, together with those of two doctors of laws.[34] These are not episodes in Sampson's career but touches drawn from experience of Oxford and her hungry clerks and their ambitions, and there is much else in Sampson's work which speaks of knowledge of student life.

Those aspects of student life alone are touched upon which would come most naturally in a familiar letter. We should not expect to find very much detail of lectures and reading; that was not common ground between parents and their sons. Exceptionally we hear of the youth who has no head for learning, but who can play the lute, and whose father is advised to send him to the court of the king or the duke of Lancaster; Oxford has done little more for him than to mend his manners.[35] But the common themes are the expense and dangers of life at Oxford and the distractions of youth. A young man at the university can never make his allowance go far enough: like the cuckoo he has always the same song, "Give! give! give!"[36] Food and other necessaries for clerks are exceptionally dear at Oxford; money goes fast and will not last to the end of term. Then there is the journey home for the long vacation, which begins on the day of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (July 7), and more money and a horse are necessary. The way is too long and the roads too bad for a journey on foot.[37] Fathers can rarely appreciate how the money goes on commons, masters' fees, and books and suspect that it has been spent in riotous living; they have only one remedy—to stop supplies.[38] Should a remittance be delayed, the young man may run in debt to the manciple or be compelled to pledge everything pawnable, even to his bedclothes, so that at nights he has to go from friend to friend begging a share of a bed.[39] But if fathers are often niggardly, mothers, though fearful that their

[34] Longleat 37, ff. 46-47 (App., no. 14); *Medium Aevum*, VI, 195-96.

[35] Royal 17 B. XLVII, f. 44*b* (App., no. 15).

[36] Royal 10 B. IX, ff. 30-30*b*; Harl. 4383, ff. 53*b*-54 (App., nos. 12 and 13).

[37] These details are from a series of four model letters in B. 14. 40, ff. 162*b*-164*b* (App., no. 17). It is probably the case that most students remained at Oxford for the whole academic year, but, as will be seen below, some must have gone home at Christmas; there is also an indication that it was not unusual to go home at Whitsuntide, for in the model letters in Add. 17716, f. 96 (App., no. 4) it is clear that the student expects to return home then, and the money sent by his father is intended to last no longer.

[38] Among Sampson's examples there are one or two exceptions. In Add. 17716, f. 96, the father sends 40 shillings to carry his son on till the end of term, and in the letter next cited the father ultimately sends 35 shillings.

[39] Longleat 37, ff. 74*b*, 75 (App., no. 7).

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sons may be given to dissipation, cannot resist sending help unknown to their husbands—and this their sons well know.[40] Or uncles and cousins, brothers and sisters, may be asked to persuade the father to find the money to enable the student to make a good end to the studies he has begun, to take, as one says, the degree of bachelor in logic and philosophy.[41]

To his father the young man inevitably justifies himself; there is no suggestion that he would admit falling from grace and express penitence. To test the genuineness of his son's excuses, one father arranges for the village priest to "appose" him, and the boy is confident as to the outcome of the encounter.[42] Another student proposes to bring his master home for two or three days at Christmas and is sure that he will bear him out in his protestations that he has been diligent at lectures and study.[43] Another is so occupied with his dear master that he has no time to write fully in his justification.[44] Yet another, in fear of losing his "exhibition", asks his master to inform his father that he has a good and commendable name at Oxford and that he has worked diligently and laudably.[45]

The older student also makes his appearance, and he too is vexed by the constant drain on his purse. The expense begins from the day a man sets foot in the university and continues to the end of his career. "I have just arrived in Oxford", writes one correspondent, "and have spent nearly all the money you provided for my stay".[46] It was the same tale at leaving. A rector who had a dispensation to attend the schools would farm his benefice to get funds for his support, but he might be hard put to it to take his degree.[47] So a rector, in one of

[40] Ee. IV. 20, ff. 157, 176-176*b*; Royal 10 B. IX, f. 30*b*; Harl. 3988, ff. 57*b*-58; Harl. 4383, ff. 54-54*b*; Harl. 4971, f. 22*b*; B. 14. 40, ff. 164*b*-165; Longleat 37, ff. 75. 75*b* (App., nos. 6, 2, 12, 8, 13, 1, 17, 7).

[41] B. 14. 40, ff. 173*b*-174*b* (App., no. 17), to an uncle. Why exactly the phrase used is "in logica necnon in philosophia gradum suscipere bacalariatus" it is difficult to say, but I presume that what is meant is the bachelor's degree in arts. There is another version of this letter in Royal 10 B. IX, ff. 192-192*b* among a collection compiled *ca.* 1410-20. Here the father wishes the son to turn to civil law, but the latter prefers an ecclesiastical career. For a letter to a brother or sister see Longleat 37, f. 75, and for a letter to a cousin, B. 14. 40, ff. 177*b*-178 (App., nos. 7 and 17).

[42] Ee. IV. 20, f. 172*b* (App., no. 2).

[43] Harl. 3988, ff. 44*b*-45*b* (App., no. 8).

[44] Harl. 4971, f. 16 (App., no. 1).

[45] B. 14. 40, ff. 174*b*-175*b* (App., no. 17).

[46] Ee. IV. 20, f. 169 (App., no. 2): "jeo seu venuz de novelle a Oxenford et grandement ay despendu bien pres l'argent qe vous moy baillastez vers Oxenford".

[47] Harl. 4971, f. 19*b* (App., no. 1): model letters from and to a rector who has a dispensation for seven years and is seeking a reliable farmer.

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Sampson's examples, writes to his bailiff and wants the rent of his church in a hurry, for he is penniless and in debt and cannot buy the books the possession of which is a necessary condition for graduating as bachelor of laws.[48] In both civil and canon law the purchase of the requisite books and the cost of the graduation breakfast were a severe tax. In one letter the price of a copy of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* was put at twenty pounds or twenty marks and expenditure on the breakfast at ten pounds.[49] Another letter suggests that a man who already owned the Codex and *Digestum Vetus* might have to expend twenty marks more to comply with the "universitatis Oxoniensis modus".[50] The writer of this letter appeals for the money to the son of his former patron, now dead, who had raised him from the mire and kept him for seven years at the schools. We find his counterpart in another collection, where a student who has lost his parents asks for the aid of a kinsman to enable him to remain at the schools. Although the reply suggests that there are other cousins who are better off, the recipient of the appeal promises twenty pounds a year for seven years—which seems extraordinary munificence—unless in the meantime the student shall have been advanced to a suitable benefice; should he wish to enter religion—a hint perhaps of a more speedy and satisfactory ending to his dependence—his kinsman promises to help him.[51] We have a different aspect of the university in letters which occur in two collections, where a clerk in favor in court circles seeks to incept in theology without fulfilling the statutory requirements: in one example it is the king who writes on his behalf, in the other the queen.[52] In a similar strain are the letters from the university to a pope and a cardinal supporting the petition of a doctor of laws for preferment.[53]

Here and there we have other glimpses of Oxford student life. There is the boy who is being sent from a distance to a private grammar

[48] Ee. IV. 20, ff. 176*b*-177 (App., no. 2). Here "bachiler en leis" means bachelor of canon law, since the books he must have are the "corps des leys".

[49] Royal 10 B. IX, ff. 30*b*-31 (App., no. 12). For the statutory requirements see Gibson, p. 46.

[50] Royal 17 B. XLVII, ff. 45*b*-46 (App., no. 15). This sum was apparently the cost of the breakfast, together with the *Infortiatum* and *Digestum Novum* (*i.e.*, the second and third parts of the Digest as it was divided in the Middle Ages). See Gibson, p. 44.

[51] Ee. IV. 20, f. 173*b* (App., no. 2).

[52] Longleat 37, ff. 73-73*b;* Harl. 4383, f. 49 (App., nos. 7 and 13).

[53] Longleat 37, ff. 47*b*-48 (App., no. 14). These letters are given both in Latin and French. In the Latin version of the letter to the cardinal the doctor is Mr. Thomas Sampson, but this, of course, does not carry with it the suggestion that he ever attained that degree.

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school (such as we know to have existed at Oxford), because there is no school within ten leagues of his home except one of little standing.[54] There is the boy whose parents want to make him a priest, but who refuses to take the first step and to be ordained acolyte, preferring to run away to some place where he is unknown and stay there till he comes of age.[55] Another boy, whose father wishes him to take a degree in arts, would sooner read law, and he asks a friend, who has already persuaded the father to be more generous with his money, to discover how he would receive a proposal of this kind.[56] And there are signs of the new Oxford which is to arise out of the old. One scholar seeks to obtain a vacancy in Canterbury College, which has occurred because a fellow has been appointed to be official to the bishop of Coventry.[57] In a letter in a later collection we hear of a friend who has promised to approach the bishop of Winchester on behalf of a boy seeking admission to his college: "speak to him about it in good time, for they say that next Michaelmas several will be elected to the college".[58] One reference we have to the other English university as viewed from Oxford, and that tells us of the buildings of King's Hall, Cambridge, becoming ruinous through neglect and the scholars praying the king to order his surveyors to have them repaired.[59] Last of all let me mention this testimony to enduring friendships formed by scholars at Oxford. An abbot recalls to a bishop their mutual affection when they were together at the schools and seeks his help in difficulties in which the monastery is involved; the bishop replies that he has not forgotten the time when they shared a room, promises to help, and invites the abbot to dinner to discuss his trouble.[60]

To dwell upon those things Sampson tells us of the Oxford in which he lived and worked may be misleading. It may suggest that he was occupied with university affairs and was writing for an academic pub-

[54] Harl. 4971, f. 20*b* (App., no. 1). See also B. 14. 20, ff. 162-162*b* (App., no. 17): a father sends his son to a master and promises to pay such fees as may be asked.

[55] Ee. IV. 20, f. 173 (App., no. 2).

[56] Longleat 37, f. 73 (App., no. 7).

[57] Royal 10 B. IX, f. 28 (App., no. 12). The date is apparently between 1366 and 1371 and probably before the death of Islip on April 26, 1366, that is, during the period when Wyclif was master.

[58] Ee. IV. 20, f. 155*b* (App., no. 6). This collection as a whole cannot be earlier than 1385, though it is possible that individual letters may not be of so late a date.

[59] Ee. IV. 20, f. 158*b* (App., no. 6). It may be noted that rebuilding had begun at King's Hall in 1375 and proceeded very slowly for some years. See [W. W. Rouse Ball], *The King's Scholars and King's Hall* (Cambridge, 1917), pp. 23, 33.

[60] Harl. 4383, ff. 52*b*-53*b* (App., no. 13); also, without identifying the correspondents, in Longleat 37, ff. 48*b*-49 (App., no. 14).

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lic. As I have already indicated, however, his concern was not to train scholars but to train men of business—business, that is, which was primarily the management of an agricultural estate but which was inseparable from the personal affairs of the landowner's family. That we may learn from his works so much, by the way, of a medieval university is because he sought his illustrations in the life around him and also because the pupils for whom his instruction was immediately intended were living the same life and formed part of the same community as students whose aim was a degree in arts or in one of the higher faculties. How numerous those pupils were it is very difficult even to guess, but we know that Sampson was by no means singular in his profession and that his fellow teachers used much the same methods and, indeed, the same books, for he complains that some of his fellows shamefully mangled his treatises on conveyancing and that transcribers, ignorant alike of Latin and French, were equally guilty. It was for this reason, he says, that he was compelled to compose a new treatise for his private students.[61]

It is evident, however, that Sampson was not unmindful of a wider public than that of his Oxford pupils. We know—for a model letter of his own implies as much—that he sold copies of his works. "I asked you the other day", says the supposed writer to his friend, "to order for me a formulary of Thomas Sampson's composition, and I am much surprised to have had from you no word of the book. Wherefore I beg you very heartily to be good enough to order it and send it to me by the next messenger passing this way. I will not wait to receive it before I pay any reasonable charges you have incurred."[62] In such a way, doubtless, one of his formularies came into the hands of a royal clerk who, in the closing years of the fourteenth century, added examples of privy seal and signet letters as well as a letter purporting to be from Charles VI to Richard II, which is probably a fabrication by Robert Lermite or Philip de Mezières.[63] Copies, too, found their way

[61] Lansdowne 560, f. 43*b* (App., no. 34): "ego Thomas Sampson, videns meas cartuarias per diuersos informatores nequiter transmutari, similiter per varios earum scriptores, qui suam nesciunt orthographiam tam in latinis quam in gallicis, in illarum sentenciis delirare, necessitate coactus nouam cartuariam pro meis priuatis scolaribus . . . scribere dignum duxi". In this passage I have done my best to correct the errors of the scribe who has justified Sampson's strictures only too completely. For another reference to his private students see Longleat 37, f. 67 (App., no. 5), printed in *Medium Aevum*, VI, 200.

[62] Ee. IV. 20, f. 159*b* (App., no. 6).

[63] Harl. 3988, ff. 28-67 (App., no. 8). For the supposititious letter of Charles VI, which has been printed from another copy in B. M. Cotton MS. Cleop. D. III, see Edouard

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into monasteries. An extensive collection of works by Sampson and of tracts found in association with them was acquired by St. Edmund's Abbey; this contains no fewer than twelve items, including, besides treatises on letter writing and conveyancing, vocabularies, a tract on French usage (the *Orthographia Gallica*), tables of conjugations, and tracts on accounting and court-keeping.[64] Even more considerable was the collection acquired by St. Albans and copied into a large volume compiled in the 1380's by William Wyntershulle, chaplain to Abbot Thomas de la Mare.[65] This collection falls into three parts, and each part seems to be an independent selection of Sampson's works, or of tracts used by him, which may well have been acquired by the monastery at different times. The first part contains a treatise on conveyancing, a tract on wills, a tract on the office of coroner, precedents for bills and writs, a tract on the office of clerk of a noble household, precedents relating to a seignorial court, a tract on Latin composition (*modus dictandi*); the second part contains the *Orthographia Gallica,* a tract on French composition, several French vocabularies, including one with English renderings, conjugations in French and Latin, a French tract on heraldry; the third part consists of a treatise on French composition.[66] A less extensive collection was acquired by Robertsbridge Abbey.[67] From this and from other evidence it would appear that Sampson's works circulated not only in the form of single treatises but also in collections in which treatises which can undoubtedly be attributed to him are associated with short tracts or schoolbooks of doubtful authorship, sometimes covering only a leaf or two. Even certain of the latter seem to be his work, but some, such as vocabularies and tables of conjugations, were the ordinary stock in trade of the teacher's art. The most noteworthy of them, the *Orthographia Gallica,* a tract on the pronunciation and writing of French, is certainly not an original composition of Sampson's, although he seems to have rear-

Perroy, ed., *Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II,* Camden Third Series, Vol. XLVIII (London, 1933), pp. 250-51, and references there given.

[64] Harl. 4971, ff. 4-65*b* (App., nos. 1, 19, 22, 39, 45, 48, and page 280).

[65] It was begun in 1382, as an introductory note informs us, but the *Salutatorium* (ff. 155-160) cannot be earlier than 1385 (see *Medium Aevum,* VI, 205-206).

[66] Ee. IV. 20, ff. 131-177 (App., nos. 2, 6, 11, 21, 36, 40, 41, 46, 50, and page 280).

[67] Longleat 37 (App., nos. 5, 7, 14, 26, 27, 28, and page 280). This collection has a complicated history, which will be explained in a forthcoming volume of the Oxford Historical Society. It has been described by Dr. Arnold in *Medium Aevum,* VI, 193-204, but from his conclusions, as well as from his interpretation of a number of the documents he cites, I must respectfully differ.

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ranged and expanded it, for it exists in a version at least as old as the early years of the fourteenth century.[68]

I have classified in an appendix the treatises and tracts which we can associate with Thomas Sampson either because they bear his name or because they are found with works that can undoubtedly be attributed to him. In this way we get some guidance to the nature and scope of his teaching and that of his fellows. In one group we can place vocabularies in Latin, French, and English, lists in French of parts of speech, days of the week, months, and the principal feasts of the year, conjugations in French and Latin, the *Orthographia Gallica,* tables for the conversion of pence into shillings and marks into pounds. In another group fall the treatises on letter writing, conveyancing, the drawing of wills, account-keeping, court-keeping, and heraldry. Quite clearly there were two stages of instruction or two grades of pupils.

Now let us turn to the ancient statutes of the university, which tell us that the pupils of grammar masters were to construe by turns in English and in French. In the late fourteenth, and even in the early fifteenth, century, French was still the language of the court, the gently born, and officialdom, but there was a fear lest it should pass into disuse at Oxford, where a large and increasing number of students would not have it as their mother tongue. This meant, of course, that many boys must be taught the rudiments of French as well as of Latin.[69]

[68] This is appended to a Register of Writs among the Cooper Manuscripts in the Library of Lincoln's Inn. The manuscript has no press mark. It was written late in the reign of Edward I or under Edward II and contains on three pages at the end a contemporary copy of the *Orthographia Gallica*. This version was first printed by Thomas Wright in Moriz Haupt and Heinrich Hoffmann's *Altdeutsche Blätter,* II (Leipzig, 1840), 193-95, and reprinted in 1884, from Wright's text, in Wendelin Foerster's *Altfranzösische Bibliothek* (15 vols., Heilbronn-Leipzig, 1879-97), VIII, 2-29, the editor, Jakob J. Stürzinger, being unable to trace the manuscript. This was identified by Dr. W. C. Bolland, who again printed the text in 1912 in the introduction (pp. xliii-li) to Volume II of the *Eyre of Kent* (Selden Society). An almost identical text, written *ca.* 1322, is contained in the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C. 507, pp. 106-108. Another closely similar text is to be found in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 335, f. 132; the hand is dated by Dr. Montague Rhodes James (*Catalogue,* 2 vols., Cambridge, 1912, II, 163) as of the fifteenth century, and it can hardly be earlier than *ca.* 1400. In this manuscript no other item occurs which appears to be in any way associated with Thomas Sampson. It seems clear, therefore, that the *Orthographia Gallica* was not only written long before Sampson's time but was transmitted independently of him. The other known manuscripts of the treatise, which differ very considerably from these three, are all associated with Sampson's writings (see Appendix). That Sampson was the author was suggested by Dr. Arnold in *Medium Aevum* (VI, 193-209).

[69] Gibson, p. 171. So some of the early college statutes prescribed the use of French at meal times and in ordinary conversation (H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *History of the Uni-*

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In this way we account adequately for our first group of treatises.

In the second group the only use of English appears to be in the glosses to the French terms for the common objects to be found on an agricultural estate, which naturally occur in a treatise on account-keeping. Elsewhere French is extensively employed for the benefit of those with insufficient Latin. This Sampson himself states specifically in the "prologue" to a treatise on conveyancing: he had found it necessary to write this prologue in French so that pupils who were "tenuement lettrés" might more easily grasp the rules.[70] When they came to the actual drafting of deeds, the instruction was evidently commonly in Latin; the exposition and examples are alike in that language, and, although two collections of model forms exist in which French translations are supplied, this is quite unusual.[71] It is otherwise with treatises on letter writing: some of these are wholly in French; others accompany Latin letters with their French equivalent; exceptionally a treatise may be wholly in Latin.[72] Behind these Latin-French treatises there lies, I suspect, the statute which prescribed that grammar school boys should be given model letters, composed in simple words, avoiding long and difficult terms, complicated constructions, and obscure metaphors. These letters they had to copy out for their masters and recite by heart in the schools.[73] If the pupils were insufficiently equipped with Latin, as was doubtless often the case, the necessity for a French translation is evident. Some pupils, we may conjecture, never obtained any real mastery of Latin and were content with instruction in French composition. Those who intended to equip themselves to deal with Latin correspondence would be expected to master the "cursus", at least in the simpler form which would enable them to use with some facility the four favored rhythmical endings—*planus, medius, tardus,* and *velox*. For these pupils Sampson provided a brief tract.

Though he can, on occasion, cite Quintilian, Priscian, and Cicero,[74] I doubt very much whether any but the most conventional of literary graces held a high place in Sampson's esteem. Those to whom a deeper knowledge was likely to be most useful would seek other masters and follow a different career from that for which he provided: they would

versity of Oxford, London, 1886, pp. 141, 144, 151; Charles Edward Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford,* 3 vols., London, 1924-27, I, 271-72). Similar conditions appear to have obtained at Cambridge. See Rouse Ball, pp. 25, 65.

[70] Lansdowne 560, f. 30 (App., no. 33).

[71] Longleat 37, ff. 14-25*b;* Lansdowne 560, ff. 30-34 (App., nos. 27 and 33).

[72] Royal 10 B. IX, ff. 25*b*-32*b;* 17 B. XLVII, ff. 42-48 (App., nos. 12 and 15).

[73] Gibson, p. 171.

[74] Longleat 37, ff. 2*b*, 42 (App., nos. 26 and 14).

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be the clerks who would enter the royal service or the service of some prelate and would look forward to ecclesiastical preferment. It is possible that students, both secular and regular, who were proceeding to a degree in one of the higher faculties might occasionally find it convenient to come to Sampson and his like for instruction in the *ars dictandi*.[75] But those for whom it was necessary to prepare, for example, a treatise entirely in French on the duties of a clerk in a noble household would be on an altogether different plane, and to students of this class we find a reference in the statutes, for they can be hardly any other than those with whom grammar masters were permitted to make an agreement for instruction of a special kind. These special pupils were not children learning their grammar, and they might be charged more than the fee of eightpence a term to which masters were limited by statute in the case of schoolboys.[76] Clearly the larger the number of special pupils a master had, the more remunerative his business would be, and there was every incentive to a man like Thomas Sampson to tout for such pupils and to advertise his own merits in the way we have seen. He would not, of course, neglect the more elementary pupils, for these might very well continue with him and pursue the more technical studies which would fit them for practical life.

Today the chief interest of Sampson's literary work lies doubtless in the model letters he composed as part of the ordinary routine at Oxford for teaching boys and young men French and Latin composition. They are free, as the statutes prescribed, from the overelaboration and empty rhetoric which were so marked a feature of contemporary academic Latin prose and which quickly fatigue the modern reader. Of those letters which deal with the affairs of students I have already given some details.[77] It may perhaps be said of them, as Charles H. Haskins said of the collections he described in the paper he first published in this *Review* in 1898, that they have to do chiefly with the commonplace and everyday aspects of life at a medieval university.[78] But the commonplace is, of all aspects of a past age, the one most dif-

[75] It seems evident that some Cistercian scholars received instruction of this kind at Oxford, but who the instructors were is at present in doubt. For some discussion on this point, I may refer to the forthcoming volume of the Oxford Historical Society mentioned above (n. 67). The inclusion in Sampson's formularies of model letters for older students seems to point in the same direction.

[76] Gibson, p. 170.

[77] A selection will be published before long by the Oxford Historical Society in the volume mentioned above.

[78] *American Historical Review*, III, 203-29. The paper is reprinted in a revised and expanded form as chapter 1 of *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (Oxford, 1929).

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ficult to recapture, and these letters supply something which will not often be supplied by the surviving muniments of the university itself or by the sparse notices of the university which can be gleaned from public or municipal records or from literary works. And similarly with those model letters before us, in which popes and emperors, kings, nobles, and bishops, and all sorts and conditions of men and women are imagined to correspond, we may recapture a glimpse of the world of the fourteenth century as it appeared to an intelligent and shrewd observer with no exceptional opportunities for searching the hearts of princes but with every opportunity for knowing how the ordinary man of some little education pictured them. The nearer his subjects come to his own status the more true to life they seem to be, and this is especially the case with his knights and squires, stewards and bailiffs, burgesses and merchants, and, I think, also, with his women, whose business in life was marriage or humble service as dependents in some strange household. But to do justice to the diversified types of the medieval world which figure in Sampson's pages would demand space larger than the present article, and even that would not be fully instructive without ample citations from the letters themselves.

With the accelerated disuse of French as a means of correspondence between educated Englishmen, which reached its final stage about the middle of the fifteenth century, Sampson's treatises on letter writing ceased to have any practical value; and about the same time tracts on the *cursus* and the composition of Latin letters went out of fashion in England; but the treatises on conveyancing which Oxford teachers composed had a longer life. They were not, however, greatly employed, I fancy, in teaching at Oxford in the second half of the fifteenth century. Grammar masters, and with them the kind of instruction Thomas Sampson gave, seem to have quite disappeared from Oxford by the time the century closed.[79] The New Learning, the rise of the collegiate system in the university, and the development of the inns of court and of chancery as centers of legal education may all have played a part in the decay of business instruction at Oxford. For a time, however, there was no better substitute, and the earliest tract on conveyancing to be put into print, under the title of *Carta Feodi Simplicis,* was a *cartuaria* of Oxford origin. The manuscript placed in the printer's hands was but a poor example of the books that had been used by Oxford teachers; it was a bare collection of precedents and lacked any introductory exposition of the general rules to be observed or any discussion of the

[79] Salter, II, 278-79.

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individual forms. Nevertheless, it ran through many editions in the early part of the sixteenth century.[80] Other and better books replaced it after some years, the earliest being the *Profitable Book* of John Perkins, first printed in 1528 and frequently reprinted. If this book owes anything to Oxford teaching, it can only be in the general plan, for, though Perkins was an Oxford man, he left the university without a degree and learned his law at the Inner Temple.[81] By then the conditions under which the common law had been taught at Oxford had come definitely to an end.

With these few words I must leave the fifteenth century and all that lies beyond and say a little of the conditions and traditions that made Thomas Sampson what he was. We must not suppose that he was at all an isolated figure in his own day. He had his fellows and competitors, who copied his textbooks and corrupted his teaching.[82] Never loath to advertise himself, he includes in one of his tracts on composition this example of *circuicio:* "Sampson concludebat plures Oxonienses dictatores"—Sampson overcame in argument many Oxford teachers of dictamen—which is rendered by elegant elaboration, "Sampsonis ingeniosa subtilitas quamplurium Oxoniensium dictatorum argumenta penitus delirauit".[83] But these numerous teachers of the later fourteenth century were no sudden growth. Their predecessors have left behind them their textbooks which we can place, with some certainty, in the reigns of Edward II, of Edward I, and of Henry III. They deal with conveyancing and letter writing, the elements of legal procedure and the keeping of accounts. Their origin is indicated by the introduction of Oxford places and Oxford students, not by any means to the extent to which Thomas Sampson permitted himself to go in his writings but sufficiently to show that they are earlier members of the same family.[84]

[80] Joseph Henry Beale, *Bibliography of Early English Law Books* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 129-31, 289-90. In the edition by Wynkyn de Worde, ascribed to 1510, besides the signatures at the bottom of the page, the word "Chartua[ria]" or "Chartu[aria]" is found, although it did not find its way into the title. An Oxford origin is obvious, and the manuscript which served as the printer's copy appears to have been written under Edward IV. Some of the precedents are to be found in surviving manuscripts, *e.g.*, Harl. 773, ff. 1-14, and Harl. 3352.

[81] Some account of Perkins (or Parkins) will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography;* for the editions of the *Profitable Book* see Beale, pp. 163-65.

[82] Above, n. 61. [83] Longleat 37, f. 42*b* (App., no. 14).

[84] A group of related manuscripts contains collections of treatises which seem to have been originally composed about the middle of the thirteenth century. These are British Museum Additional MS. 8167, ff. 88-133; Caius College MS. 205, pp. 255-430; and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 297, ff. 105-127, 135*b*-138. For some description of them see *Neues Archiv*, IV (1879), 339-43; *English Historical Review*, L (1935),

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Even if we have no more specific evidence than this, we need not doubt that teaching of this kind was established in Oxford in the thirteenth century. Before the beginning of that century there were *dictatores* at Paris and elsewhere in France, and we know that the use of Bolognese treatises on *dictamen* was widely expanded in England.[85] The *ars notaria,* as it was taught at Bologna, could not, indeed, be introduced into England, where there was a very different legal system, but the same purpose was served by teaching Englishmen to draw a conveyance or a will, to perform the humbler legal duties which did not demand the services of a professional lawyer, to keep manorial accounts. If at Oxford all such teaching was on a less elaborate scale, if there was no such division as there was at Bologna between the *ars dictandi* and the *ars notaria,* yet the tradition was the same, and the object was the same, to give a practical training for a business career.

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Appendix

Manuscripts of Thomas Sampson's works

This list is necessarily provisional, but it is believed to be representative. Many more manuscripts, however, may exist which contain anonymous writings that could be identified as by Sampson. Adaptations by later teachers, as, for example, by William Kingsmill, have, for the most part, been excluded. As far as possible the order of the manuscripts is approximately that of the original date of composition.

34-35; and James's *Catalogue* of the Caius College Library MSS. (Cambridge, 1907-1908) and his *Catalogue* of Corpus Christi College Library MSS. An Oxford origin can be deduced from such touches as this model for a salutation: "Item, si filius scribat patri, sic: Reuerendo patri suo ac domino R. archytectori prudentissimo suus R. studium Oxonie exercens continuum, si placet, salutem et filialem in omnibus obedienciam" (Caius Coll. MS. 205, p. 275). See also the letter from Add. MS. 8167, ff. 104-104*b,* Haskins, *Am. Hist. Rev.,* III, 210, and *Studies in Mediaeval Culture,* p. 10. Cambridge Univ. Lib. Ee. I.1, ff. 225-235, contains a tract on conveyancing and letter writing, another on accounting, and a third on legal procedure; these are all in a single hand and are obviously one collection of the reign of Edward I. The tract on conveyancing, by John of Oxford, has been described by Frederic William Maitland in "A Conveyancer of the Thirteenth Century", *Collected Papers* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1911), II, 190-201, and that on legal procedure printed by him in *The Court Baron,* Selden Soc. (London, 1891), pp. 68-78. In the same library, MS. Dd. VII. 6, ff. 20*b*-23*b,* is a tract on letter writing of the early fourteenth century, unmistakably of Oxford origin. Harl. MS. 274, ff. 13-29, is a tract on conveyancing with an Oxford connection, apparently originally written under Edward II, though this copy is of the fifteenth century.

[85] N. Denholm-Young, "The Cursus in England", in *Oxford Essays in Medieval History presented to H. E. Salter* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 68-103. For an account of the teaching at Bologna and in France in the *ars dictandi* and the *ars notaria* see Louis John Paetow, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities* (Urbana, 1910), pp. 70-94.

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The following abbreviations have been used: B[ritish] M[useum]; C[ambridge] U[niversity] L[ibrary]; Harl[eian]. I am indebted to the Marquess of Bath for permission to use his manuscript Longleat 37 and to the custodians of the other manuscripts cited for the facilities they have afforded me.

French Treatises on Letter Writing

1. B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 9-22*b*. Begins: Ore fait a dire. Composed 1351-60. Extracts printed by Uerkvitz; extract from one letter printed by Haskins, *Am. Hist. Rev.,* III, 219, and in *Studies in Mediaeval Culture,* p. 22.
2. C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 167-177. Text similar to no. 1, with different examples. Composed 1363-68. Introduction and extracts printed by Uerkvitz.
3. Magdalen College, Oxford, 188, ff. 8*a-b*. Text similar to no. 1, but the beginning only is given.
4. B.M. Additional Manuscript 17716, ff. 94*b*-99*b*. Examples only. Material in common with no. 2. Not earlier than 1371.
5. Longleat 37, ff. 67-70. Begins: C'est la forme coment Thomas Sampson. A different compilation from the above. Composed *ca.* 1383.
6. C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 155-160. Begins: Sachent tous qe solonc l'enformacione Thomas Sampsone. Not earlier than 1385. Extracts printed by Uerkvitz.
7. Longleat 37, ff. 72*b*-75*b*. Examples only, following *Orthographia Gallica.* Has material in common with preceding. Composed *ca.* 1385.
8. B.M. Harl. 3988, ff. 28-67*b*. Begins: Primiers quant vous ferez une lettre. Has material in common with nos. 1, 2, and 3. Composed *ca.* 1382-88, with additions 1396. Extracts printed by Uerkvitz. Six letters printed by E. Stengel, "Die ältesten Anleitungsschriften zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache", *Zeitschrift für neufranzösische Sprache und Literatur,* I (1879), 8-10. Extracts from two letters printed by Haskins, *Am. Hist. Rev.,* III, 219, and in *Studies in Mediaeval Culture,* p. 23, where they are attributed to Cambridge.
9. Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 14. 40, ff. 159-162. French tract entitled: Le manere de salutacion et escriture as divers degrees. Composed not earlier than 1385. No internal evidence connects this tract with Sampson and it may not be his. The colophon reads (erroneously): Hic finitur Ortographia Gallica. For the examples that follow, see no. 17 below.

Latin Treatises on Letter Writing

10. B.M. Harl. 4993, ff. 9-22. Begins: Universis et singulis universitatis Oxonie dominis et magistris, dictatoribus eciam et amicis. Examples in Latin and French. Composed *ca.* 1363-68.
11. C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 147-148*b*. Similar text, but lacking introduction. Adds section on rules of *cursus.* No examples.
12. B.M. Royal 10 B. IX, ff. 25*b*-32*b*. Begins: Domini et amici carissimi. Preceded by three *exordia,* misplaced. Examples in Latin. Composed *ca.* 1366.
13. B.M. Harl. 4383, ff. 47-57*b*. Examples only, Latin and French: material in common with no. 12. Temp. Richard II.
14. Longleat 37, ff. 41-52*b*. Begins: Sicut cartaria dicitur a carta, quasi a

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digniori parte, sic salutarium dicitur a salutacione. Examples in Latin and French. Composed *ca.* 1381-85.

15. B.M. Royal 17 B. XLVII, ff. 42-48. Entitled: Modus dictandi brevis et utilis datus a Sampsone. Similar text to 12, but examples differ. Section on rules of *cursus*. Composed *ca.* 1396.
16. Bodley 832, ff. 1-2*b*. Rules of *cursus* only.
17. Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 14. 40, ff. 162-178*b*. Examples in Latin and French. Material in common with no. 2. Composed temp. Richard II, but with additions *ca.* 1410-15.

Precedents for Bills [86]

18. C.U.L. IV. 20, ff. 143-144. Earlier than the following.
19. B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 29*b*-32*b*. Begins: Hic incipiunt bille secundum novum modum. An expansion of the preceding, *ca.* 1377.

Treatises on Conveyancing

20. B.M. Harl. 4993, ff. 25-34. Begins: Quia emptores. Mid fifteenth century copy of text composed *ca.* 1363. The name of John of Bromley has been substituted throughout for that of Thomas Sampson.
21. C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 131-141*b*. Similar text, apparently composed later than the original of no. 20: copied *ca.* 1385.
22. B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 34*b*-38*b*. Begins: Iam incipiunt regule cartarum secundum nouum usum. Introduction in French follows. Dated 1377.
23. B.M. Harl. 773, ff. 16-18. Same text as no. 22, with different introduction in Latin. Fifteenth century copy in which the name of William of Horbury has been substituted for Thomas Sampson. Examples follow, ff. 18-36*b*.
24. B.M. Additional 25238, ff. 143*b*-146*b*. Late fifteenth century copy of same text as no. 23, without introduction; incomplete.
25. B.M. Royal App. 85, ff. 3-10. Begins: Quid est carta. Composed *ca.* 1375-80.
26. Longleat 37, ff. 1-11*b*. Begins: Carta dicitur de careo es. Composed *ca.* 1380.
27. Longleat 37, ff. 14-25*b*. Examples only, in Latin and French. Copied *ca.* 1385.
28. Longleat 37, ff. 26-26*b*. Similar text to no. 25; introduction only, without examples. Copied *ca.* 1385.
29. B.M. Harl. 4993, ff. 43-59. Similar text to no. 25; *ca.* 1385-86.
30. B.M. Lansdowne 560, ff. 3-27. Same text as no. 28 but with examples; *ca.* 1390.
31. Trinity College, Dublin, E. 5. 13, pp. 337-402. Text related to no. 25; *ca.* 1390.
32. St. John's College, Cambridge, 19. I, ff. 1-27. Expository matter recast, but examples identical with no. 30, with additions; *ca.* 1390.
33. B.M. Lansdowne 560, ff. 30-34. Begins: Covient qe par comen ordre de faire charters. Examples in Latin and French; *ca.* 1396.
34. B.M. Lansdowne 560, ff. 43*b*-46*b*. Begins: In nomine sancte et indiuidue Trinitatis; *ca.* 1400.
35. B.M. Lansdowne 560, ff. 38-40. Examples only; early fifteenth century.

[86] Directions for the preparation of bills, with examples, are also contained in nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6, above.

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Tracts on Wills

36. C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 141*b*-142. Begins: In exordio cuiuslibet testamenti duo sunt principaliter consideranda.
37. B.M. Lansdowne 560, ff. 27-29*b*. Begins: In cuiuslibet testamenti exordio hec sunt inspicienda; *ca.* 1390.
38. B.M. Royal 10 B. IX, ff. 13-16*b*. Similar text; *ca.* 1409. Followed by ecclesiastical precedents, ff. 17-25, which also appear to have been compiled by Sampson, perhaps as early as 1366.

Tracts on Holding Courts

39. B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 39*b*-40*b*. Entitled: Modus tenendi curiam. Dated 1377.
40. C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 146*b*-147. Without title; follows immediately upon tract on household accounts.

Tracts on the Office of Coroner

41. C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 142-143. Written *ca.* 1385.
42. St. John's College, Cambridge, 19. I, ff. 27-27*b*. Written *ca.* 1390.
43. B.M. Lansdowne 560, ff. 34-35. Same text as preceding. Originally dated 14 Richard II, but name of king altered to Henry.

Explanation of Legal Terms

44. St. John's College, Cambridge, 19. I, ff. 28-28*b*. Written *ca.* 1390. There is no internal evidence to connect this tract with Thomas Sampson.

Tracts on Household Accounts

45. B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 26-29*b*. Entitled: Modus qualiter clericus sive expensor expendit pecuniam domini sui. The model account is dated 1355.
46. C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 144-146*b*. Similar text.
47. Trinity College, Dublin, E. 5. 13, pp. 405-410. Similar text. On the three preceding texts see remarks by Dr. Arnold in *Medium Aevum,* VI, 204-205.
48. B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 6*b*-8. French tract on similar lines to preceding. Entitled: Offys d'un clerc de servier nul seignour ou dame.
49. B.M. Lansdowne 560, ff. 35-37. A different composition from the above. Entitled: Modus qualiter expendet clericus bona domini sui. The model account begins at Michaelmas 1401.

Tract on Heraldry

50. C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 160*b*-161*b*. Begins: De heraudie le mestier si est les armes diviser. There is no internal evidence to connect this tract with Thomas Sampson.

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MANUSCRIPTS OF ASSOCIATED TRACTS [87]

Orthographia Gallica [88]

B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 4-6*b*. Largely in French. The text differs widely from the following group.
C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 152*b*-154*b*.
Magdalen College, Oxford, 188, ff. 1-4*b*.
Longleat 37, ff. 70-72*b*.
Trinity College, Dublin, E. 5. 13, pp. 427-35.
B.M. Harl. 4993, ff. 22. Ends abruptly in tenth rule.

Conjugations

B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 23-26. French-Latin.
C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 165-166. French-Latin.

Parts of Speech

C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 160-160*b*. Lists of pronouns, adverbs, etc., in French with Latin explanation.

Vocabularies

B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 8-9. French-English. Follows immediately upon French tract on household accounts.
C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, ff. 162-164*b*. French-English. Different from preceding. Written *ca.* 1385. Printed by W. W. Skeat as Appendix, pp. 1-50, to *Transactions* of the Philological Society, 1903-1906 (London, 1906), where the date of writing is erroneously conjectured to be *ca.* 1340, possibly from an older copy of the thirteenth century.
Magdalen College, Oxford, 188, ff. 5-7*b*. Latin-French-English. Extract printed by Annie Owen, *Le traité de Walter de Bibbesworth* (Paris, 1929), pp. 145-46.
B.M. Lansdowne 560, ff. 47-47*b*. Latin-English.
C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, f. 154*b*. Names of numbers, colors, and days of the week in French.
B.M. Harl. 4971, f. 33*b*. Names of days, festivals, and months in French.
C.U.L. Ee. IV. 20, f. 160*b*. Names of festivals in French.
Magdalen College, Oxford, 188, ff. 7*b*-8*a*. Names of festivals in French.

Arithmetical Tracts

B.M. Royal 10 B. IX, ff. 25-25*b*. Cardinal and ordinal numbers and numeral adverbs in Latin.
B.M. Harl. 4971, ff. 39-39*b*. Conversion table of pence to shillings and marks to pounds. Latin.

[87] The grammatical and arithmetical tracts here listed are representative of those associated with Sampson's writings but which, as in the case of the *Orthographia Gallica*, cannot be of his own composition or which are commonplace pieces of elementary instruction.

[88] The first three texts were printed by Stürzinger (see above, n. 68). The last three are related to the second and third but present important differences. A copy of the *Orthographia Gallica* was apparently before the scribe of Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 14. 40 (App., no. 17), but he omitted it in his transcript; see above pp. 270-71.

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URBAN AND RURAL VOTING IN 1896

It requires but a cursory glance at the census tables to convince anyone that the United States has participated in the rapid urbanization of population which, during the past century and a half, has characterized the Western world. By the end of the nineties huge numbers of people were, as Jefferson had feared, piled up on one another in cities. The special problems faced by such agglomerated populations were far different from anything experienced among rural peoples and led them to a much greater interdependence and to a greater demand for the aids of government. As a result of these problems rural and urban groups developed distinct and often conflicting attitudes, points of view, and interests. Such a conflict of interests was bound to have its reflection in the political arena. The struggles of New York City against the conservative upstate, of Democratic Boston against Republican rural Massachusetts, and of Baltimore against the counties of Maryland are proverbial and are symbolic of that "clash between two cultures—one static, individualistic, agricultural, the other dynamic, collectivistic, urban".[1]

It is not surprising, then, that the urban-rural conflict has been of some importance in American history. Little, however, has been done to measure that importance. It is the purpose of this article to take a step in that direction by making a study of the conflict at one fixed point in American history, the first Bryan-McKinley campaign: to establish the existence of that conflict in the nation as a whole and to see whether or not it followed a recognizable pattern.

It has become a commonplace that Bryan directed his entire campaign in 1896 to both farmer and laborer, to the inarticulate but potentially powerful workers and the vast lower middle classes that make up the bulk of the populations of cities as well as to the farmers of the West and South. Yet because "a solid East and Middle West", the most highly urbanized sections of the nation, overwhelmed and defeated Bryan, it has gone almost unnoticed that he occasionally scored heavily in Eastern cities, the foci of the "toiling masses" to whom he addressed himself. John Giffin Thompson has pointed out—though without statistical evidence—that the "fact that Bryan carried a number of the agricultural States of the West, in 1896, while the East voted against him

[1] Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York, 1933), p. 302.

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has obscured the further fact that he received strong support in many of the eastern urban centers while heavy majorities against him were in many cases rolled up in the rural sections of the East".[2] This, if accurate, would be a highly significant comment on the factors which determined the election of 1896, and it would at the same time bear witness to the political cleavage between urban and rural populations. Did, then, the heavy minority vote polled by Bryan in McKinley states come from urban populations? Where was Bryan able to secure his strongest support, among rural or among urban populations?

To answer these questions a comparison will be made of the percentage of votes received by Bryan in cities and the percentage received by him in the rural areas of the states in which those cities are located.[3] To facilitate that comparison an index number has been used to represent the relationship of the urban and the rural votes in the various states. That index number is called the "urban-rural percentage ratio" or, more simply, the "percentage ratio". The percentage ratio of a city is the ratio of Bryan's percentage of the votes in that city to the percentage of votes he received in the nonurban sections of the state. The percentage ratio of a state is the ratio of Bryan's total urban percentage

[2] *Urbanization: Its Effects on Government and Society* (New York, 1927), pp. 199-200. See also Edgar Eugene Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932* (Stanford University, 1934), p. 5.

[3] Election statistics for cities are exceedingly difficult to locate. Those used in this paper have been secured from: (1) state year books, legislative manuals, and blue books; (2) annual reports of secretaries of state; (3) almanacs; (4) Robinson, *The Presidential Vote;* (5) annual returns of the general election; (6) newspapers; (7) letters to the writer from county officials.

In the case of the cities of New York State, with the exception of New York City, and of several other cities, it was impossible to secure the total vote. Only the results for the major parties were available. In order to use the returns from those cities and to have them in the same form as the other results, it was necessary to resort to an estimate. The fraction of the population of the county centered in the city was secured. This proportion of the total non-Bryan—non-McKinley vote was found either from Robinson or from an almanac (which give county votes) and added to the major party vote of the city. The sum was the "total vote" of the city. The result is not precisely accurate, but it is unlikely to be in great error.

It was impossible to secure the returns of ten cities: Fort Wayne, Evansville, Louisville, Savannah, Duluth, San Antonio, Salt Lake City, Denver, Charleston, and Grand Rapids. In each of these cases it was assumed that the ratio of the city's vote to that of the county was equal to the ratio of their populations. Since three terms of the proportion are known, it was simple to find the fourth, the city vote. Here again there will be an error, but it will be very small. Naturally, the larger the proportion of the county's population living in the city, the more accurate will be the result. In every case, more than 58 per cent lived in the city; in five cases, more than 75; in three, more than 82.

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to his rural percentage. The result in either case is a number which may be either greater or less than one. If greater, it means that the percentage of urban votes given to Bryan was greater than his percentage of the rural vote of the state. If less, then Bryan did better among the rural population. It will be seen at once that the use of the percentage ratio has the advantage of telling at a glance not only whether there was a difference in the reaction of urban and rural areas but also how great that difference was and in what direction it went. It thus permits a discussion of the degree of the urban-rural split of the Bryan vote in the various states. It will represent the degree of urban-rural tension. Ratios from .9 to 1.1, while they show a clear-cut difference in urban and rural votes, will be called the range of low urban-rural tension. Ratios below .9 and above 1.1 will be regarded as representing a high degree of tension between city and country.

In the following analysis a comparison will be made of the urban and rural votes of Bryan, not of the Democratic party. The distinction is essential, for Bryan (and McKinley, too, for that matter) ran on several tickets. He was the nominee of the Democrats, Populists, National Silverites, Middle-of-the-Road Populists, and several other groups; and in many states his votes were cast on a fusion ticket of two or more parties. It is consequently almost impossible to distinguish party votes. The decision to compare Bryan votes is not, however, based only on the exigencies of the situation. Bryan, after all, on no matter what ticket he ran, was the same candidate with essentially the same platform; his appeal to the "toiling masses" he made less as representative of the National Silver Party or of the Populists than as champion of the "people" against an "oppressor" class. The Bryan vote, from no matter what source, was basically a radical vote.[4] Given that definition of radicalism, the urban-rural percentage ratio of Bryan votes represents the degree to which cities were more or less radical than rural sections of the states in which those particular cities were located.

But if a study is to be made of the urban-rural division of the votes, much will depend on the definition of the term "urban". Obviously no

[4] The objection may here be raised that in the South, where the Democratic vote was the traditional one, the Republican vote was "radical" and that if a city gave Bryan a higher vote than the surrounding countryside it should be called more "conservative". The fact remains, however, that the Democratic and Populist platforms of 1896 were considerably to the left of the Republican program. Southern Democrats and Populists accepted those platforms, and in voting for Bryan—even if it was a traditional vote—they were supporting a more "radical" program.

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definition will be completely satisfactory. For even if everyone should agree on many of the characteristics that distinguish a rural from an urban population, everyone would also agree that to transform those qualitative characteristics into a quantitative formula designed to draw a distinct and invariable line of demarcation between city and noncity is impossible. For the purpose of this study, however, all agglomerated populations of 45,000 or more will be called "urban".[5] What remains is "rural". There is no pretension here that such a division is anything but crude and arbitrary. But there can be no doubt that an agglomerated population of 45,000 in 1896 was relatively dense, heterogeneous, and largely engaged in nonagricultural pursuits, and that it generally exhibited the symptoms and characteristics of a "city". Such a division, though crude, should be sufficient to show any tendency towards differentiation that might exist in urban-rural election returns.

By this definition the United States contained in 1900 eighty-two cities, unevenly distributed through the country.[6] Thirteen of the forty-five states had no such urban centers. Of the remaining thirty-two, twenty went to McKinley in the election, and twelve to Bryan. The twenty McKinley states, by far the most urbanized sections of the nation, contained sixty-five cities. The twelve Bryan states had only seventeen cities. Only three McKinley states had no urban populations at all; ten Bryan states had none. The Middle Atlantic states had twenty-three cities, New England was second with eighteen, and the East North Central group followed with thirteen.[7] Every state in these three sections, which held almost half the population of the United States, gave McKinley a majority. The South, with sixteen states, four of which left the Bryan fold, had but twelve cities. The West North Central states, three McKinley and four Bryan, had nine cities. The Pacific states, of which only Washington went to Bryan, had five cities—with only one in Oregon. The Mountain states, solidly Democratic and Populist, had but two cities.

[5] According to the census of 1900. A finely drawn analysis would take metropolitan areas into consideration and distinguish them from rural areas.

[6] Since there was no census in 1896 and hence no accurate data for that year, the statistics for 1900 (the closest available) have been used. Therefore, although the standard used is a population of 45,000, the dividing line is actually a little less.

[7] The usual division of sections is here maintained, with one exception: the South Atlantic states have been united with the East and West South Central states and are here called "The South".

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TABLE I

	McKinley States	*Bryan States*	*Total U. S.*
Total votes	9,865,166	4,044,096	13,909,262
Total Bryan	4,022,882	2,470,559	6,493,441
Urban votes	2,652,058	332,732	2,984,790
Bryan Urban	1,028,699	183,428	1,212,127
Rural votes	7,213,108	3,711,364	10,924,472
Bryan Rural	2,994,183	2,287,131	5,281,314

	% Bryan Urban[8]	*% Bryan Rural*	*% Ratio*
McKinley states	38.78	41.51	.934
Bryan states	55.12	61.62	.894
Total United States	40.61	48.34	.840

A glance at the votes of the nation as a whole shows the existence of a distinct and clear-cut split between urban and rural voting. In the nation as a whole Bryan polled a considerably smaller percentage of the votes of cities than he did of rural sections. This is true not only of the national totals but of the sums for the Bryan and McKinley states separately. Relative to the respective rural areas, Bryan fell behind in the cities of both groups of states. In both divisions the urban populations were more conservative than the rural. But at once a significant distinction becomes evident. There was an appreciably greater urban-rural tension in the Bryan states than in those that went to McKinley. The percentage ratio of the McKinley states was higher than that of the Bryan states. Expressed in another way, Bryan, relative to his rural vote, did better in the cities of the more urbanized sections of the nation and of the industrialized states or those most rapidly moving in that direction, than in the cities of the less populous and more agricultural states. A breakdown of the national totals is necessary, however, for more accurate results, for both Bryan and McKinley won states in various sections of the country. Such a breakdown will show where the urban-rural cleavage was sharpest and may at the same time suggest answers to the question why it should have been so.

[8] In this and later tables the headings "% Bryan Urban" and "% Bryan Rural" mean the percentage of the urban and the rural vote, respectively, that went to Bryan.

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TABLE 2
THE UNITED STATES

	Total Votes	*Bryan Total*	*Urban*	*Bryan Urban*	*Rural*	*Bryan Rural*
New Eng.	896,678	243,780	271,968	91,045	624,710	152,735
Mountain	379,244	308,383	57,435	50,015	321,809	258,368
Mid. Atl.	2,989,245	1,118,272	1,236,816	458,138	1,752,429	660,130
E. N. Cent.	3,735,277	1,651,372	775,727	329,334	2,959,550	1,322,034
Pacific	489,753	243,151	118,626	54,623	371,127	188,528
W. N. Cent.	2,226,508	1,077,773	280,748	120,722	1,945,760	957,058
South	3,192,557	1,850,710	243,470	108,250	2,949,087	1,742,461

	% Bryan	*% Bryan Urban*	*% Bryan Rural*	*% Ratio*
New England	27.18	33.47	24.44	1.369
Mountain	81.31	87.08	80.28	1.084
Middle Atlantic	37.40	37.04	37.66	.983
E. N. Central	44.21	42.45	44.67	.950
Pacific	49.64	46.04	50.79	.906
W. N. Central	48.40	43.00	49.18	.874
South	57.96	44.46	59.08	.752

An analysis of the vote by sections shows that in every section of the nation there was a clear-cut recognizable tension between city and non-city. The split between urban and rural populations existed throughout the country. The tension was lowest in the Middle Atlantic states. It was highest, the urban-rural conflict was sharpest, in New England and in the West North Central and Southern states, in precisely those groups of states which were most industrial and least industrial, least agricultural and most agricultural. But what was the direction of that split? A comparison of the percentage ratios of the seven sections of the nation shows that in New England and the Mountain states alone did the cities give Bryan a more than proportional vote; there alone were the cities more radical than the countryside. In the remaining sections, although the difference between the rural and the urban was equally evident, the cities were less Bryan than the rural sections. The percentage ratios declined from the Middle Atlantic and East North Central states to the South.

Only in the Mountain states did Bryan receive a majority among urban populations. But he secured a majority in the rural areas of three sections. In the Pacific Coast states, the rural areas just barely went to Bryan, but the cities—with less than one fourth of the voting strength of the states—gave McKinley a clear majority.

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TABLE 3

NEW ENGLAND

	Total	*Bryan Total*	*Urban*	*Bryan Urban*	*Rural*	*Bryan Rural*
Mass.	401,568	105,711	179,776	58,617	221,792	47,094
Conn.	174,389	56,733	57,138	21,957	117,251	34,776
R. I.	54,785	14,459	20,057	5,913	34,728	8,546
Maine	118,419	34,587	6,735	2,203	111,684	32,384
N. H.	83,670	21,650	8,262	2,355	75,408	19,295

	% Bryan Urban	*% Bryan Rural*	*% Ratio*
Mass.	32.60	21.23	1.535
Conn.	38.42	29.65	1.295
R. I.	29.48	24.60	1.198
Maine	32.70	28.99	1.128
N. H.	28.50	25.58	1.114

New England, which gave McKinley a higher proportion of votes than any other section of the nation, had the highest percentage ratio. Every one of its five states exhibited a high urban-rural tension, and in each case the urban population voted more heavily for Bryan than did rural sections—and consistently more heavily. For of New England's eighteen cities, only two had a percentage ratio of less than one. Both of them—Somerville and New Bedford—were in Massachusetts, the second most heavily urbanized state in the Union, and the one whose urban population was most radical compared to its rural inhabitants. Of the remaining nine cities in Massachusetts, six had the six highest percentage ratios in the nation. New England's cities, there can be no doubt, were more radical than its rural sections.

The situation changes immediately, however, as one moves south and west from Connecticut. The conflict of urban and rural sentiment became less sharp. The Middle Atlantic group of states, which was second only to New England in its support of McKinley, had an almost exactly proportionally smaller percentage ratio.

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TABLE 4
MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

	Total	*Bryan Total*	*Urban*	*Bryan Urban*	*Rural*	*Bryan Rural*
N. Y.	1,423,876	551,369	719,096	299,378	704,780	251,991
N. J.	371,014	133,675	148,655	54,120	222,359	79,555
Pa.	1,194,355	433,228	369,065	104,640	825,290	328,588

	% Bryan Urban	*% Bryan Rural*	*% Ratio*
N. Y.	41.63	35.75	1.164
N. J.	36.40	35.77	1.017
Pa.	28.35	39.81	.712

It is evident at once that a line may be drawn dividing New York and New Jersey from Pennsylvania. Only in the first and third of these states was the urban-rural split of any significance, but their urban sections went in different directions. New York's cities were more radical than its rural population; the cities of Pennsylvania, with one of the sharpest urban-rural cleavages in the nation, were considerably more conservative. New Jersey, which had a very low degree of tension between its urban and rural populations, lay near the border line. Its urban areas supported Bryan only slightly more than its rural sections. While sixteen of New England's eighteen cities gave Bryan a stronger vote than the rural areas of that section, only fourteen of the twenty-four cities of the Middle Atlantic states did so. The distribution of the remaining nine cities corresponds to the division by state. Of New York's eight cities, seven gave Bryan a higher percentage of votes than did rural New York; the one city that fell below was low by only 0.33 per cent. In New Jersey, four out of seven cities were more radical than the rural population. In Pennsylvania the cities shifted to the opposite side and gave McKinley the advantage, for only three gave Bryan a stronger vote than nonurban Pennsylvania, while five supported McKinley more strongly. It is notable that the three largest cities in that state—Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Allegheny—were not only more conservative than their surrounding areas, but had percentage ratios which were among the smallest in the nation.

The cities of the New England and Middle Atlantic states, taken together, or separately for that matter, exhibit a curious phenomenon. They had the highest and the lowest percentage ratios. In general, they evidenced a very high degree of urban-rural tension. In those two sec-

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tions, apparently, the circumstances making for the conflict of city and noncity were present in full force.

For the remainder of the nation, whether one moves westward into the main field of action of the Populists or southward into traditionally Democratic territory, the rural sections of the great majority of the states voted more heavily for Bryan than did the cities located in those states; the cities were generally more conservative than their neighboring rural populations.

TABLE 5
EAST NORTH CENTRAL STATES

	Total	*Bryan Total*	*Urban*	*Bryan Urban*	*Rural*	*Bryan Rural*
Wis.	447,409	165,523	55,599	23,887	391,810	141,636
Mich.	545,585	237,166	72,674	30,709	472,911	206,457
Ill.	1,090,869	465,613	362,368	150,077	728,501	315,536
Ind.	637,119	305,573	62,185	27,450	574,934	278,123
Ohio	1,014,295	477,497	222,901	97,211	791,394	380,286

	% Bryan Urban	*% Bryan Rural*	*% Ratio*
Wis.	42.96	36.14	1.188
Mich.	42.25	43.65	.967
Ill.	41.41	43.31	.956
Ind.	44.14	48.37	.912
Ohio	43.61	48.05	.907

In New England every one of the five states showed an acute conflict of city and noncity; in the Middle Atlantic states that was true of only two thirds of the states. In the East North Central section tension had decreased to the point where only one of the five states—Wisconsin—showed a high degree of tension between its cities and its countryside. Every state in the East North Central group, as in the cases of the two sections already discussed, went to McKinley. But unlike those sections, only three out of thirteen cities—Milwaukee, Fort Wayne, Peoria—gave percentage ratios which indicated a stronger support of Bryan than their contiguous rural areas. In several cases cities in this section gave Bryan votes that barely differed in strength from his rural vote; here, apparently, there was but slight difference in the opinions of urban and rural populations. In only a very few instances was there a definite split.

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TABLE 6
WEST NORTH CENTRAL STATES

	Total	*Bryan Total*	*Urban*	*Bryan Urban*	*Rural*	*Bryan Rural*
Minn.	341,762	139,735	83,048	34,558	258,714	105,177
Kan.	335,787	172,915	9,708	4,752	326,079	168,163
Iowa	521,547	223,741	13,659	4,898	507,888	218,843
Neb.	223,181	115,804	18,748	8,536	204,433	107,268
Mo.	673,906	363,667	155,585	67,978	518,321	295,689

	% Bryan Urban	*% Bryan Rural*	*% Ratio*
Minn.	41.61	40.65	1.023
Kan.	48.94	51.57	.949
Neb.	45.53	52.57	.867
Iowa	35.85	43.08	.832
Mo.	43.69	57.04	.765

In the preponderantly agricultural West North Central states, where Bryan secured some majorities, there was a reaction against one of the tendencies thus far observed. The tension between city and country began to increase again. In three of the five states in this section there was a sharp conflict between city and countryside; in the East North Central states there had been but a single case of high tension. As in the latter section, however, the cities of the West North Central group were generally more conservative than the rural areas. Bryan's rural support was still, apparently, increasing at a greater rate of speed than his urban votes.

Only in Minnesota, which evidenced a relatively slight conflict between urban and rural opinion, was the urban population more radical than the nonurban, and even there it was true of only two of the three cities. South of that state, the conflict became sharper, and as it became sharper, the cities grew more conservative relative to the countryside. Only two of the nine West North Central cities were more radical than the rural areas; both were in a McKinley state. But significantly enough, not only did the five cities in the states won by Bryan give him a smaller proportion of their votes than did the rural areas, but they ran counter to the results in the rural sections and gave their majorities to McKinley. St. Joseph, St. Louis, and Kansas City, in Missouri; Omaha, Nebraska; and Kansas City, Kansas, all supported McKinley. In those states it was the rural populations only that gave Bryan his majority, and since in each case his majority in the state as a whole was slight, it was the weight of rural numbers that pulled him through. This was especially

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important in Missouri, where the urban vote was almost one fourth of the total. The states won by Bryan in the West North Central group were strongly Populist; there the conflict of rural and urban populations was clear cut, and there Bryan lost the cities.

This tendency of cities in Bryan states to be more conservative than rural areas and even to reject Bryan continued in the South with but a single exception.

TABLE 7
THE SOUTH

	Total	*Bryan Total*	*Urban*	*Bryan Urban*	*Rural*	*Bryan Rural*
Va.	294,837	154,978	18,661	10,907	276,176	144,071
Ga.	162,500	93,862	10,486	5,736	152,014	88,126
Tenn.	321,998	168,176	16,108	7,689	305,890	160,487
Del.[9]	38,554	16,671	12,939	5,076	25,615	11,595
Md.	250,877	104,746	106,601	40,859	144,276	63,887
La.	101,179	77,172	26,661	17,487	74,518	59,685
Texas	526,693	361,224	8,725	4,736	517,968	356,488
Ky.	445,928	217,894	41,614	14,707	404,314	203,187
S. C.	66,223	58,799	1,675	1,053	64,548	57,746

	% Bryan Urban	*% Bryan Rural*	*% Ratio*
Va.	58.44	52.16	1.120
Ga.	54.70	57.97	.943
Tenn.	47.73	52.46	.909
Del.	39.23	45.26	.866
Md.	38.32	44.28	.865
La.	65.59	80.09	.818
Texas	54.28	68.82	.788
Ky.	35.34	50.25	.703
S. C.	62.86	89.46	.702

The urban-rural tension of the South was second only to that of New England. Its cities, like those of New England, showed a consistently sharp break with rural sentiment—but it was a break in precisely the opposite direction. Of the nine Southern states containing cities, three—Maryland, Delaware, and Kentucky—were won by McKinley. In each of these three cases there was a high degree of tension between urban and rural opinion, and in each case the cities were less radical than the countryside. The conflict was sharpest in Kentucky. In that state, the

[9] Of the returns from Delaware's three counties, those of Kent County were not counted in the official state tabulation: because of a technicality the governor refused to certify the returns. The figures used here, however, are for all three counties and are taken from the *Baltimore Sun Almanac, 1896* (Baltimore, 1897).

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nonurban people supported Bryan with a majority of 50.25 per cent of the votes. But Louisville, although it had less than 10 per cent of the votes of the state, gave McKinley so large a majority that it succeeded in turning Kentucky over to him.

The remaining six states of the South were won by Bryan, but in Virginia alone did the cities give him a higher proportion of their votes than the rural sections. In every case there was a distinct difference of opinion, but only in Virginia did the cities—Richmond and Norfolk—vote more strongly for Bryan than did the countryside. The reason may probably be found, at least in part, in the traditional division between eastern and western Virginia. In the latter section there still remained a strong old Republican group, which helped to give the party its greatest support in the Valley and in the southwest.[10] The answer may in part be found in the fact that Virginia in the nineties was not a typical Southern state; economically, it was in a period of transition and was more in the position of a border state.[11] Its agriculture diversified, its industry growing, its farm mortgages relatively few, its tenant class smaller than in the deep South, Virginia's interests were drifting away from the South and West. "The vote showed that by a powerful tradition Virginia was bound to the Democratic party of the South, yet that on economic issues her interests, though still predominantly rural, were approaching those of the East."[12]

Virginia and its cities aside, every other urban center of the South supported Bryan less enthusiastically than did its surrounding rural area, and in only three cases did the urban-rural differential show low tension. Tennessee's two cities—Memphis and Nashville—gave Bryan almost the same proportion of their votes and differed by 5 per cent from the rural vote; like the cities of the Bryan states in the North Central group, they gave McKinley a majority, contrary to the verdict of rural Tennessee. In the deeper South, in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Texas, the clash of urban and rural opinion was much greater; in those states, Bryan received from 14 to 27 per cent less of the votes of the city than he did of the countryside.

In every Southern state but Virginia, it has been observed, the rural population supported Bryan to a far greater extent than did the urban.

[10] Allen Moger, "The Rift in Virginia Democracy in 1896", *Journal of Southern History*, IV (1938), 311-12.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16.

[12] William Du Bose Sheldon, *Populism in the Old Dominion* (Princeton, 1935), p. 138; see also pp. 21, 114.

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This would seem to indicate that the tradition of Democratic solidarity in the South was stronger among rural than among urban populations. That the rural population should be the one to carry on tradition is not surprising. Furthermore, the Negro Republican vote was probably much heavier in cities than in the countryside, and the influence of the industry that was settling in Southern cities would have been thrown on the Republican side of the scales. Does this mean that the classes and groups living in the city are acting as a solvent of the Democratic unity of the South, or at least a solvent of traditional Democracy? Does it mean that as industrialization advances and urbanization increases, the tradition that has kept the South, and especially the rural South, together, will break down? The results of the election of 1896 suggest that such might indeed be the case, but even a reasonable degree of certainty would require the corroboration of similar analyses of other elections and the drawing of lines of relationship between them.

TABLE 8

MOUNTAIN STATES

	Total	*Bryan Total*	*Urban*	*Bryan Urban*	*Rural*	*Bryan Rural*
Utah	78,119	64,607	14,611	12,822	63,508	51,785
Colo.	186,883	158,880	42,824	37,193	144,059	121,687

	% Bryan Urban	*% Bryan Rural*	*% Ratio*
Utah	87.75	81.54	1.076
Colo.	86.85	84.47	1.028

The Mountain states, the most sparsely settled section of the United States, went solidly to Bryan—some of them by tremendous majorities. Of the six states, only two had cities, and there were only two cities—Denver and Salt Lake City. Both showed a slight but distinct difference of sentiment from their surrounding rural areas; both were more strongly for Bryan than were the rural populations. The Mountain states, it must be remembered, were the section of the nation most strongly in favor of silver. There it was not Populism or Democracy that carried the day, but the illicit and slightly uncongenial marriage of both to the bigamist (and opportunist) Free Silver. That, too, was the only section in which Free Silver was the cry of more than discontented and debtor groups bent on the search for easy, cheap money;

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there Free Silver represented also the demands of a vested interest, the silver mine owners and their followers, who stood in precisely the same relation to silver as the "cormorants of Wall Street" stood to gold. In 1892 the silver states had not been interested in Populism but in silver.[13] The same was in all probability true in 1896. That Salt Lake City and Denver voted more heavily for Bryan than did rural Utah and Colorado may have been the result of the facts that silver alone was the issue there, and Denver at least was in the heart of the silver land and was a focus of the silver interests.

TABLE 9

PACIFIC STATES

	Total	*Bryan Total*	*Urban*	*Bryan Urban*	*Rural*	*Bryan Rural*
Cal.	298,756	144,766	93,740	44,680	205,016	100,086
Wash.	93,583	51,646	8,940	4,539	84,643	47,107
Ore.	97,414	46,739	15,946	5,404	81,468	41,335

	% Bryan Urban	*% Bryan Rural*	*% Ratio*
Cal.	47.66	48.81	.976
Wash.	50.77	55.65	.912
Ore.	33.88	50.73	.667

Of the three Pacific Coast states, California and Oregon just barely eked out a majority for McKinley; Bryan won Washington. The sharpest conflict of city and noncity was evidenced by Oregon, which, with a percentage ratio of .667, the lowest in the entire country, had the second highest urban-rural tension. There, as in Kentucky, the rural sections of the state supported Bryan by a very narrow majority. But Portland, overwhelmingly behind McKinley, was sufficient to turn the state over to the Republicans. Los Angeles and San Francisco differed only very slightly from rural California. Seattle and Oakland showed a marked difference.

A glance back over the percentage ratios of the thirty-two states under discussion will show that the generalizations culled from a sectional analysis of the vote are, in the main, confirmed when the sections are broken down into their constituent states.

[13] John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), p. 268.

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TABLE 10
THE STATES IN ORDER OF PERCENTAGE RATIO

State	*% Ratio*	*% Bryan*	*State*	*% Ratio*	*% Bryan*
Mass.	1.535	26.32	Ga.	.943	57.76
Conn.	1.295	32.53	Ind.	.912	47.96
R. I.	1.198	26.39	Wash.	.912	55.18
Wis.	1.188	36.99	Tenn.	.909	52.22
N. Y.	1.164	38.72	Ohio	.907	47.07
Maine	1.128	29.20			
Va.	1.120	52.56	Neb.	.867	51.88
N. H.	1.114	25.87	Del.	.866	43.24
			Md.	.865	41.75
Utah	1.076	82.70	Iowa	.832	42.89
Colo.	1.028	85.01	La.	.818	76.27
Minn.	1.023	40.88	Tex.	.788	68.58
N. J.	1.017	36.02	Mo.	.765	53.96
			Pa.	.712	36.27
Cal.	.976	48.45	Ky.	.703	48.86
Mich.	.967	43.47	S. C.	.702	88.78
Ill.	.956	42.68	Ore.	.667	47.97
Kan.	.949	51.49			

Of the thirty-two states under consideration, nineteen evidenced a high urban-rural tension. In the remaining thirteen states the conflict of city and noncity was present, but it was smaller in degree. Thus, in the greater part of the nation, containing more than half the population of the United States and more than one and a half times the population of the low tension states, there was a sharp difference between city and country. Furthermore, that tension followed a recognizable pattern. In the Northeast, where McKinley's majority was at its zenith, there was a high urban-rural tension. South and west of New England, as McKinley's majority fell, that tension waned. In the Middle West it was lowest. Across the Mississippi and in the South, where Bryan began to win majorities, the tension began to rise again. In the states of the Northeast, in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, New York, Maine, New Hampshire, where McKinley was at his best, the conflict of urban and rural populations was an acute one. In only two other states (of the thirty-two), Wisconsin and New Jersey, did McKinley receive more than 60 per cent of the vote; Wisconsin, too, although it was not one of the Northeastern states, evidenced a sharp urban-rural clash. Just west of Pennsylvania, as industrialism decreased and Populism became more widespread, as McKinley began to give way to Bryan, the differences between city and countryside began to become less severe. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan constituted an

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area of low tension. Farther west, in the agricultural states beyond the Mississippi, tension began to increase again—in Iowa, Missouri, and Nebraska. In the South, below the Ohio, in states traditionally Democratic, agricultural, with high percentages of tenants and debtors—in Virginia, South Carolina, Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas—urban-rural tension rose still further.

The correlation of the tension with the Bryan vote is plain. But another interesting fact becomes evident when the states under consideration are projected on a map of the United States. On the Atlantic Coast (with the exception of New Jersey only) was a solid area of high tension—whether the states went to Bryan or to McKinley; between the Appalachians and the Mississippi (excepting Kentucky and Wisconsin), an area of low urban-rural tension; west of the Mississippi (excepting Minnesota and Kansas), another area of high tension extending to the Mountain states; and then a second decline in tension (excepting Oregon) between the wheat and corn belt and the Pacific.

Not only the existence of urban-rural tension, but its direction as well, followed a distinct pattern. In twenty of the thirty-two states the urban populations were more conservative than the rural. Of the twelve whose cities gave Bryan a larger proportion of their vote than the surrounding countryside, three were won by Bryan and nine by McKinley. In general, the percentage ratio declined as Bryan's support rose. The cities in the states that gave McKinley his heavier votes were the ones which gave Bryan his best support compared to the surrounding countryside. The New England states, New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, the states which gave McKinley his highest votes, had the highest percentage ratios. As McKinley's majority waned and finally disappeared, in the Middle and Far West and in the South, his strength fell much more rapidly in the countryside than in the cities, and Bryan's strength rose faster in the countryside than in the city, with the result that the cities were more conservative than the rural areas. The correlation between McKinley's strength and the percentage ratio held even for the individual states in the East North Central group. In the West North Central states the same was true: in the states won by both Bryan and McKinley, Bryan's relative strength in the cities fell with McKinley's strength in the state as a whole. The South, with the lowest McKinley vote in the nation, had the lowest ratio. In only three states won by Bryan—Virginia, Utah, and Colorado—were the cities more radical than the rural areas. That special circumstances may have been at work in those cases has already been indicated. The McKinley states whose cities were more radical were (with the exception of Wisconsin

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and Minnesota) concentrated in the Northeast. The cities of four Bryan states gave McKinley a majority of their votes. An analogous situation did not occur in any McKinley state.

An examination of the returns from individual cities—the units on which this study has been based—serves only to confirm in detail what has already been observed.

TABLE II

THE CITIES IN ORDER OF THEIR PERCENTAGE RATIO[14]

City	*% Ratio*	*% Bryan*	*Population*
Lawrence (1)	1.902	40.38	62,559
Boston (1)	1.729	36.71	560,892
Holyoke (1)	1.650	35.03	45,712
Lowell (1)	1.642	34.86	94,969
Lynn (1)	1.623	34.46	68,513
Fall River (1)	1.558	33.09	104,863
Troy (3, 4)	1.472	52.65	60,651
New Haven (1)	1.421	42.14	108,027
Waterbury (1)	1.387	41.15	45,859
Cambridge (1)	1.342	28.51	91,886
Bridgeport (1)	1.332	39.52	70,996
Albany (3, 4)	1.295	46.33	94,151
Hoboken (5)	1.248	44.66	59,364
Jersey City (5)	1.228	43.95	206,433
Worcester (1)	1.212	25.74	118,421
Providence (1)	1.198	29.48	175,597
Milwaukee (1)	1.188	42.96	285,315
Springfield (1)	1.182	25.11	62,059
New York (1, 3, 4)	1.174	41.99	3,437,202
Yonkers (3, 4)	1.168	21.77	47,931
Erie (1)	1.147	45.69	52,733
Portland, Me. (1)	1.128	32.70	50,145
Norfolk (4)	1.124	58.61	46,624
Richmond (4)	1.118	58.36	85,050
Manchester (1)	1.114	28.50	56,987
Fort Wayne (S)	1.102	53.33	45,115
Rochester (3, 4)	1.087	38.89	162,065
Buffalo (3, 4)	1.081	38.68	352,387
Reading (1)	1.081	43.04	78,961
Salt Lake City (S)	1.076	87.75	53,531
Utica (3, 4)	1.052	37.61	56,383
Elizabeth (5)	1.050	37.56	52,130
Duluth (S)	1.047	42.58	52,969
Minneapolis (6)	1.047	42.58	202,718
Paterson (5)	1.043	38.00	105,171

[14] The numbers following the names of the cities refer to the enumeration of sources given in footnote 3 and indicate the type of source from which the returns of the cities have been secured. An "S" indicates that no returns were available and that the vote was found by the special method described at the end of footnote 3. In the case of Kansas City, Kansas, "S" means that the vote was secured from a photostat of the manuscript official tally sheet.

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TABLE II—*Continued*

City	*% Ratio*	*% Bryan*	*Population*
Wilkesbarre (1)	1.033	41.16	51,721
Denver (S)	1.028	86.85	133,859
Los Angeles (1)	1.023	49.94	102,479
Peoria (3)	1.015	43.96	56,100
Hartford (1)	1.007	29.88	79,850
San Francisco (7)	.994	48.53	342,782
Grand Rapids (S)	.991	43.27	87,565
Syracuse (3, 4)	.990	35.42	108,374
St. Paul (6)	.978	39.77	163,065
Atlanta (6)	.977	56.66	89,872
Cleveland (2)	.977	46.99	381,768
Dayton (2)	.970	46.63	85,333
Evansville (S)	.963	46.62	59,007
Detroit (6)	.958	41.83	285,704
Chicago (3)	.954	41.33	1,698,575
Kansas City, Kan. (S)	.949	48.94	51,418
Toledo (2)	.932	44.83	131,822
Newark (5)	.930	33.30	246,070
Scranton (1)	.918	36.57	102,026
Columbus (2)	.916	44.05	125,560
Seattle (6)	.912	50.77	80,671
Memphis (6)	.910	47.77	102,320
Nashville (6)	.909	47.71	80,865
Savannah (S)	.882	51.15	54,244
Harrisburg (1)	.867	34.54	50,167
Omaha (6)	.867	45.53	102,555
Wilmington (3)	.866	39.23	76,508
Baltimore (4)	.865	38.32	508,957
Trenton (5)	.855	30.61	73,307
Indianapolis (6)	.842	40.76	169,164
Des Moines (1)	.832	35.85	62,139
Kansas City, Mo. (1)	.819	46.74	163,752
New Orleans (4)	.818	65.59	287,104
Cincinnati (2)	.815	39.19	325,902
Somerville (1)	.801	17.02	61,643
Oakland (7)	.792	38.70	66,960
St. Joseph (1)	.790	45.08	102,979
San Antonio (S)	.788	54.28	53,321
St. Louis (1)	.750	42.82	575,238
Pittsburgh (1)	.715	28.49	321,616
Louisville (S)	.703	35.34	204,731
Charleston (S)	.702	62.86	55,807
Camden (5)	.700	25.07	75,935
New Bedford (1)	.684	14.54	62,442
Portland, Ore. (6)	.667	33.88	90,426
Philadelphia (1)	.649	25.85	1,293,697
Allegheny (1)	.565	22.50	129,896

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Of the eighty-two cities in the nation at that time, fifty—almost two thirds—evidenced a high degree of urban-rural tension. Thirty-six of these fifty were spread along the Eastern Coast from Portland to Savannah and Charleston. In all New England only a single city—Hartford—exhibited low urban-rural tension. In ten cities of the Middle Atlantic states the urban-rural clash was small. The majority of the East North Central cities evidenced low tension; only in Milwaukee, Fort Wayne, Indianapolis, and Cincinnati was the conflict of city and countryside sharp. To the west, the tension began to grow again; five cities of the wheat and corn belt had high, and four low, urban-rural tension. In the South, as in New England, tension was exceedingly high. Only in Atlanta, Memphis, and Nashville was the urban-rural tension low. All three cities were west of the fall line.

Although the great majority of the cities of the nation differed considerably from their contiguous rural areas, it cannot be said that cities were in general either more radical or more conservative. Of the total of eighty-two cities, forty were more radical than the rural areas around them, and forty-two were more conservative—a fairly even division when it is recalled that Bryan lost the most urbanized sections of the United States and that he polled but two fifths of the urban vote. The geographical distribution of the radical and conservative cities and the correlation of that distribution with the absolute Bryan or McKinley vote conform to the pattern noted among the states. New England's cities, excepting only Somerville and New Bedford, were more radical than rural New England. In the Middle Atlantic states the cities shifted their positions relative to the country-side. In the East North Central states, with Bryan's vote increasing, the cities became definitely more conservative than the rural areas.

This correlation with the McKinley vote, it must be emphasized, is the statement of a tendency only and is not meant to be the statement of a universally applicable rule. The cities of three states west of the Alleghenies, other than Wisconsin, voted more heavily for Bryan than the rural sections of those states did. In Colorado and Utah this was probably the result of the silver issue to a great extent. The third state, Minnesota, had the highest McKinley vote in the West North Central states and was the only state in that group with a percentage ratio greater than one. On the other hand, Maryland and Delaware went to McKinley by percentages substantially lower than those of New York and New Jersey and similar to those of the Middle West. Baltimore and

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Wilmington both, significantly enough, voted low for Bryan—as the Middle Western cities generally did.

The Bryan states, too, fit into the scheme. In them, every city, except Richmond, Norfolk, Denver, and Salt Lake City, gave McKinley a heavier vote than he received in the corresponding rural areas. Further, in only three cities (out of sixty-five) in McKinley's states—Troy, Fort Wayne, and Los Angeles—was Bryan able to nose into the lead. On the other hand, seven cities (out of seventeen) in Bryan's states gave McKinley a majority. In Bryan's own territory McKinley could get large portions of the urban vote and could even get majorities. In the McKinley states the majority of the cities were more radical than the countryside. But the cities with a percentage ratio greater than one were concentrated in the North Atlantic states; in the Middle West and the South the reverse was true.

TABLE 12

CITIES IN MCKINLEY STATES

	Cities more radical	*Cities more conservative*
New England	16	2
New York	7	1
New Jersey	4	3
Pennsylvania	3	5
Remaining states	6	18

	% of cities with		*No. of cities with*	
	High Tension	*Low Tension*	*High Tension*	*Low Tension*
New England	94.4	5.6	17	1
Middle Atlantic	56.5	43.5	13	10
East North Central	30.8	69.2	4	9
West North Central	55.6	44.4	5	4
South	75.0	25.0	9	3
Mountain	00.0	100.0	0	2
Pacific	40.0	60.0	2	3
Total United States	61.0	39.0	50	32

An analysis of the city vote in terms of population yields several significant facts.

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TABLE 13

Population	*% of Cities with High Tension*	*Low Tension*	*% of Cities (Radical) More*	*Less*
100,000 to 4,000,000	54.1	45.9	37.8	62.2
85,000 to 100,000	62.5	37.5	50.0	50.0
45,000 to 85,000	67.6	32.4	59.5	40.5

If the cities within the population range of 45,000 to 85,000 be called "small" and those above 100,000 "large" (this places thirty-seven cities in each group), it may be observed that a much greater proportion of the small cities evidenced high urban-rural tension. Apparently large cities were more frequently in closer agreement with their surrounding countryside.[15] Furthermore, large cities were generally more conservative than their corresponding rural areas, and the small cities more radical. These facts are themselves, of course, related to the geographical distribution of the cities. More of the urban populations of the Northeast were below 85,000 than above 100,000. That was true in the South as well, but to a much smaller extent. In the Middle West, on the other hand, where the urban-rural tension was relatively lower, most of the cities had populations larger than 100,000. Although both the Mountain cities evidenced low tension, the higher of the two—Salt Lake City—had the smaller population.

In passing, it is worth noting that Bryan's showing among urban populations of the various sections—leaving out the Mountain states—varied from 33.47 per cent to 46.04, a range of only 12.57 per cent. In rural groups, however, he received scores ranging from 24.44 to 59.08 per cent of the vote, spreading over a range of 34.64 per cent, almost three times as large as the urban spread. Cities, it would seem, varied

[15] Despite this fact, if the line of demarcation between urban and rural populations be gradually lowered, a point should be reached at which the average urban-rural tension over a small population range becomes very small and perhaps disappears. At that point, presumably, a "city"—or at least urban-rural conflict—begins. Unfortunately, not enough election statistics are conveniently available to carry the analysis to such a conclusion. But it should be done, and it should be done for a series of elections. An attempt at such an analysis on a much smaller scale has been made, with interesting results, by Stuart A. Rice, "A Note on the Census Categories, 'Urban' and 'Rural' ", *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XIX (1924), 79-81.

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over a smaller range and were more like each other, no matter in what section of the nation they were located, than rural areas. This is a manifestation of urban and rural attitudes which lends support to the theory that cities, generally, resemble each other more than do rural areas, that "the habits and manners of city people everywhere are much more alike than are those of rural areas".[16] The isolation of rural peoples has encouraged the development and maintenance of peculiarities and regional differences which "polyglotishness" and advantages in interregional communication have tended to diminish and minimize in city life.

There can be no doubt, then, that in the presidential election of 1896 cities differed from the countryside in their political sentiments and that the difference produced a relatively high degree of tension between most of the cities of the nation and their surrounding rural areas. Furthermore, this tension followed a definite pattern. No one can observe that pattern without noting several relationships which might help to explain the existence of urban-rural tension. The incidence of high and low tension and the arrangement of percentage ratios above and below one correspond fairly closely with the relative industrialization and the degree of farm ownership in the individual states. In the more highly industrialized states the cities were more radical than the countryside. In the agricultural states the farmer and the rural inhabitant were more radical.[17] If industrialization tended to make a city more radical than the surrounding rural areas, a high degree of farm ownership tended to make rural populations more conservative than urban. And it may, in fact, be observed that the states with the greater percentages of farm tenancy were those states whose rural areas were more radical than their cities, and, conversely, the states with the smaller tenancy and larger farm ownership had percentage ratios greater than one. This relationship may be expressed from another point of view. The relative radicalism of city and countryside corresponded

[16] William F. Ogburn, *Social Characteristics of Cities* (Chicago, 1937), p. 32.

[17] The relationship between industrialization and the percentage ratio is evident in the correlation of the ratios with an index of industrialization. In this particular case an occupational index has been used. It is based on the known fact that as industrialization advances and cities grow, the number of people engaged in manufacturing and mechanical trades and in trade and transportation increases rapidly, while the number of those in agricultural pursuits falls even more rapidly. The ratio of the number of people in the entire state engaged in manufacturing, mechanical trades, transportation, and trade to the total number engaged in agriculture should give a fairly accurate index of the industrialization of the state. It will at once be seen that the lower indexes correspond to percentage ratios less than one, and, conversely, that the higher apply to states with the higher percentage ratios.

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roughly to the strength of the Populist party in the state. Where Populism was strongest, the cities supported Bryan with considerably less enthusiasm than the rural sections did. In the McKinley states Bryan's urban support was smallest relative to the rural in the North Central states—where Populism was strong. Where Bryan drew ahead in the cities, the People's party was negligible.[18] Both forces—industrialization and farm ownership—were accentuated by the fact that the one more often than not coincided with the other.[19]

Furthermore, the fact that the tension between urban and rural populations and the direction in which cities tended to pull away from rural areas varied sectionally suggests the possibility that a "city" meant different things in different parts of the country. It has long been recognized that cities differ for reasons other than the number of citizens they contain. No one would maintain that a specialized resort city such as Miami would have precisely the same characteristics as a trading center, such as Dodge City, Kansas, or that either of these would have very much in common with a Brockton, Massachusetts. Old cities differ

[18] The four Bryan states whose cities gave McKinley a majority were Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and Tennessee. All were states in which the farmer's movements and Populist party were traditionally strong. Virginia, the only Bryan state in the South to vote more heavily for Bryan in its cities, had perhaps the weakest Populist party in the South.

[19] An interesting suggestion emerges from the relationship between the percentage ratio and the proportion of foreign born. Since many immigrant groups tend to concentrate in cities (this is especially true of the Irish and the South and East Europeans), they might have had a significant influence on the urban vote. The states with the greater percentages of foreign born were the ones whose cities were more radical as compared to the rural sections of the state. With one exception only—Virginia—the states with the lower proportions of foreign born had ratios less than one. Pennsylvania had the lowest foreign-born percentage in the Middle Atlantic states. Wisconsin had the highest in the East North Central group and Minnesota in the West North Central group. These facts may help to explain the peculiarity of the percentage ratios of those states in the sections to which they belong. The percentage ratios of the Pacific states declined with the percentage of foreign born.

In general, it would seem that in states in which the foreign born constituted larger portions of the population in comparison with other states, the urban population gave Bryan a larger proportion of the vote than he received in the rural areas. To some extent this was undoubtedly due to tradition and party regularity. The Democrats, for instance, had always recruited heavily from the Irish immigrant population, and in the North Atlantic states—New York, especially—the Irish constituted a larger part of the foreign-born population than in any other section. But this alone will not account for the close correlation between the two sets of facts. Other factors would have to be taken into consideration—the number of foreign born who could vote, their nationality, whether they were old or new immigrants. It must be remembered, of course, that in the Middle West a larger proportion of the foreign born lived on the land than in the other sections; it must also be remembered that the Republican tradition of Carl Schurz still lay heavy on the actions of the large German population.

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from new cities; trading cities from financial centers, and both from manufacturing towns; seaports from mining towns; cities in heavily populated districts from cities set alone in the midst of wide open spaces; suburbs from metropolitan centers. The cities of the East, with the highest urban-rural tension, were the oldest cities in the nation. In the Northeast many of the cities were the products of the factory, sometimes the centers of finance. There the large laboring and immigrant populations were set off against a rural background of conservative landowners. There the cities were more radical than the countryside. Most of the cities between the Alleghenies and the Rockies were the offspring of the railroad; they were trading posts and transportation centers. In them frequently were centered the influences against which the farmer of the West rose in protest. They were often the centers on which they depended for the marketing of their products. Those cities, it has been shown, were more conservative than their surrounding rural populations. Similarly, a "rural" area meant different things in different parts of the country: a cotton culture area differed from and had different interests from a dairy area, and both differed from a grain-growing region. Each rural variety had its own cities, and each type of city had its own charactertistics and each its own relation to its surrounding rural areas.

But whatever the basis of urban-rural antagonism, whatever the forces that accentuate or soften the clash of city and countryside, the fact remains that in the election of 1896 there was a high urban-rural tension. The question, then, inevitably arises: Has such tension existed in other elections?[20] Has that urban-rural conflict been permanently present in our politics? It has been suggested that a "revolution in American politics" is under way, that the once rustic political pattern is

[20] For evidence of urban-rural tension in various elections see, for instance, Roy V. Peel and Thomas C. Donnelly, *The 1928 Campaign: An Analysis* (New York, 1931); the interesting, if often crude, analysis of Roosevelt's 1936 majority in the otherwise partisan and undemocratic attack on the New Deal in David Lawrence, *Who were the Eleven Million?* (New York, 1937); Stuart A. Rice, *Farmers and Workers in American Politics,* in Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, CXIII, No. 2 (New York, 1924), especially pp. 143 ff.; Rice, *Quantitative Methods in Politics* (New York, 1928), ch. 12; William F. Ogburn and Delvin Peterson, "Political Thought of Social Classes", *Political Science Quarterly,* XXXI (1916), 300 ff. For a discussion of the political complexion of an America predominantly urban, see Arthur N. Holcombe, "Present-Day Characteristics of American Political Parties" and "The Changing Outlook for a Realignment of Parties", in *The American Political Scene,* ed. by Edward B. Logan (revised ed., New York, 1938); Holcombe, *The Political Parties of To-Day* (New York, 1924), and *The New Party Politics* (New York, 1933).

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becoming urban, that since "the urban population actually outnumbers the rural . . . the struggle between city and country . . . threatens to become as important a factor in national politics as the traditional struggle between sections."[21] The validity of such a statement is debatable, for though urban-rural conflict may be as important as sectionalism, the significance of either one as the basis of an American history is open to serious question. It is certainly legitimate to ask whether emphasis on the existence and importance of the antagonism of city and country does not frequently obscure the further facts (true of sections as well) that "city" is a collective term and that in it lives a heterogeneous population made up of many interest groups and classes leading more or less different ways of life. The question of the meaning of urbanization requires further examination, for if the determining forces in human behavior are to be found in economic and social distinctions rather than in geographical or political groupings, then such a judgment as the one suggested becomes not only of little value as a clue to the study of American political history but invalid as well. Nevertheless the flow of people into cities has changed the face of the nation, as once the westward movement did. The conflict of urban and rural populations must, therefore, be given its place as a factor in American history—a factor which has been perhaps as important as the frontier and the westward movement.

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[21] Holcombe, "Present-Day Characteristics of American Political Parties", *American Political Scene*, p. 31.

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WHO KILLED THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY?

In August, 1912, the Progressive party, at its convention in Chicago, nominated its candidates amidst enthusiastic acclaim, singing fervently "Onward Christian Soldiers". The candidates were Theodore Roosevelt of New York for President and Hiram W. Johnson of California for Vice-President. These two brilliant campaigners took to the hustings and kept their ardent followers at fever pitch throughout the campaign. The result was a split Republican vote that opened the way for Woodrow Wilson. President Taft was defeated as no other President running for re-election has ever been defeated. He received a mere 3,483,922 votes as against 4,126,020 for Theodore Roosevelt. The Progressive party thus represented a force greater than the orthodox Republican organization, and yet by 1916 it was dead. The question is: Who killed it?

The inside story of the demise of this party has never been told. Today there are only two or three people living who are in a position to tell, from personal knowledge gained from their activities, the full tale. The author is one of these. The sudden and, to many, inexplicable demise of the Progressive party would not be understandable without a brief background.

From the moment of its entrance upon the political stage, the Progressive party presented a curious anomaly. This was understood by thoughtful progressives, but there seemed to be nothing that could be done about it. The candidates of the party, Roosevelt and Johnson, represented the highest current ideals in American public life. Theodore Roosevelt, as President of the United States, had built up in himself a faith on the part of the average man and woman of America that was almost religious, while Hiram W. Johnson, as the progressive governor of his state, had not only dared to undertake, but had succeeded in writing, a record of accomplishments for the people that has not been excelled, if it has been equaled, in an equivalent period of time to this day. In the popular mind these were the leaders of the Progressive party, the acclaimed advocates of progressive ideals, but deep in their shadow stood another figure, whose emergence upon the political stage had caused men to wonder. This was George W. Perkins. Although Joseph M. Dixon of Montana was titular chairman and campaign manager of the Progressive National Committee, Perkins was the real performer in both of these roles.

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Born in Urbana, Illinois, Perkins, as a young man, rose to the lure of Wall Street. He became associated with the New York Life Insurance Company. He acquired riches, and, after he had become a partner in the firm of J. P. Morgan & Company, his seat was near the head of the table about which sat those financial overlords who have had so much to say about the social and economic development of America. Outside of Wall Street Perkins's name would scarcely have been known if, as the result of the investigation of the insurance companies by an able young lawyer of New York by the name of Charles E. Hughes, Perkins had not been caught in what appeared to be questionable practices. He was arrested on March 28, 1906, on a warrant charging grand larceny of almost $49,000 from the New York Life Insurance Company. This sum represented a contribution made by his company to the Republican National Committee during the campaign of 1904. Perkins won his release on a writ of habeas corpus, but he had acquired wide and unpleasant notoriety. Whenever his name was mentioned thereafter it brought to mind the insurance scandal which had been uncovered by the future Chief Justice of the United States. Mr. Perkins might escape by some legal technicality, but the people had little faith in him; they believed in Mr. Hughes.

Subsequently Mr. Perkins retired from the Morgan firm. The wealth that he had acquired made it possible for him to interest himself in public affairs, especially in the movement to give the people in the overcrowded New York metropolitan area more parks and playgrounds and open spaces. How or why he became interested in Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive party movement is a matter of conjecture. His friends have stoutly maintained that he was sincerely and wholeheartedly devoted to the public welfare; his detractors and even many open-minded persons have ascribed to him an ambition to acquire power and, by means of a creditable administration of an important public office, perhaps even to erase the stain upon his name for which the insurance scandal had been responsible.

Whatever the motive, there is no doubt that in 1912 Perkins threw himself heart and soul behind the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt. He contributed liberally to the expenses of the campaign, while his adherence to the Progressive cause mitigated, to a considerable extent, suspicions of its radicalism. It is only fair to say that George W. Perkins influenced a group of important and conservative businessmen to support the Progressive party who otherwise would have had nothing to

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do with it. As a result, considerable sums of money were brought into the coffers of the Progressive party.

From the beginning it was clear that while Perkins was working loyally to elect the Roosevelt-Johnson ticket, he was not overlooking any opportunity to build himself up. A strong case could be made out for the proposition that if Roosevelt were to win, there would be no doubt in anyone's mind that Perkins was the Warwick who had restored him to the White House. During the campaign, money that would have been spent to better advantage was devoted to the circularization, in impressive numbers, of such pamphlets as "Is Perkins Sincere?" George W. Perkins made himself an issue in the campaign. He never shunned the limelight or overlooked any opportunity to increase his own prominence.

After the election of 1912 Perkins, in effect, appointed himself receiver of the Progressive party. Ex-Senator and National Chairman Dixon, who had not been particularly prominent during the campaign, soon faded out entirely, and Perkins took over what was left of the business and affairs of the party. In this, too, he was running true to form. The House of Morgan has always known how to "liquidate" ailing business concerns for its own profit. George W. Perkins had a substantial "investment" in the Progressive party, and a man of his record and background was not the sort to fail to do everything within his power to realize what he could on that "investment". What better way to do this than to take it over as receiver? From the fall of 1912 on, the Progressive party became, in an increasing degree, the personally conducted party of George W. Perkins.

To be sure, the hero of Progressives everywhere was Theodore Roosevelt. Relying on positive statements made by the Rough Rider, both during the campaign and immediately thereafter, the rank and file of the party were already looking forward to 1916. Believing that they already constituted one of the two major political parties of the country, they were confident that in the elections of 1914 and 1916 the Republican party would be swept completely off the map, leaving it to the Democratic and the Progressive parties to contest for local, state, and national offices. They were convinced that Theodore Roosevelt was committed, both morally and by explicit words, to leadership in the war that lay ahead. They had come to accept George W. Perkins, too, but only as a chief lieutenant. Hadn't he gone through Armageddon with them, and wasn't it apparent, even to the most cynical, that he, too, had volunteered for the duration of the war and was prepared to go through to the end?

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So there was little or no objection to Perkins's continuing as chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Progressive party. If anyone ever stopped to think that this committee, subject only to whatever veto power might be exercised by Roosevelt himself, was in absolute control of the affairs of the Progressive party, he did not worry about it. The Progressive party contained few practical politicians in its ranks. The rank and file did not know how parties were run. They were blindly following Theodore Roosevelt, and they were not concerned about what machinery was necessary or how it was to be used.

It will be remembered that after the 1912 campaign Theodore Roosevelt went on an expedition into the uncharted and untrodden wilds of Brazil to do some important geographic and natural history work. At an enthusiastic dinner tendered to him in New York before he sailed, he publicly renewed his pledge to fight through to the end with his progressive comrades. On that trip Theodore Roosevelt escaped death by the narrowest of margins. He suffered privations that few younger and physically more vigorous men could have borne. During his long absence Perkins was left in supreme command of the Progressive party. No word from their adored leader came from the Brazilian jungles, and none was expected. Everyone was willing to carry on during this interval under whatever arrangement it had pleased Theodore Roosevelt to make, and it had been his pleasure to leave George W. Perkins in complete command.

A study of the minutes, if any were kept, of sessions of the Progressive National Executive Committee during the four years from 1912 to 1916 would demonstrate conclusively that Perkins held it in the hollow of his hand. Meetings were invariably held in New York City. A preponderant number of the committee lived in the East, but there were two or three from the West. Most of these, however, lived so far away from New York that they never even pretended to attend meetings. With one exception the Western members of the Executive Committee even allowed Perkins to name proxies to represent them.

The one exception was Jane Addams of Chicago, who had been a delegate-at-large to the Progressive National Convention in 1912. It had been thought wise to have a woman on the committee, and Miss Addams was the outstanding woman in America. She had accepted membership on the committee despite the fact that she was not interested in political machinery as such. Miss Addams consented to serve on the clear understanding that she would attend few, if any, meetings. However, instead of permitting Perkins to appoint one of

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his cronies to represent her, Miss Addams formally designated as her proxy the writer, a fellow Chicagoan. I believe that the record will show that from the time that I was appointed as Miss Addams's proxy, which was, as I remember it, on the occasion of the first meeting of the National Executive Committee, I never missed a meeting of that committee. Moreover, I was the only Western man to attend any meeting of this all-important committee.

There were no fixed times for sessions of the Executive Committee. Mr. Perkins called us together at his own pleasure. Meetings were not frequent, but we did get together often enough to keep in touch with the political situation of the country. What Perkins did between sessions of the Executive Committee I do not pretend to know, except that always he was tightening his hold upon the Progressive party. At meetings of the Executive Committee Perkins did practically all of the talking. He told his associates what he chose to tell them of his current activities and of what he was thinking and proposing to do. There was no occasion to take issue with him. If this had been attempted, short shrift would have been made of any opposition with the help of such members and proxy holders as William Flinn of Pennsylvania, Walter F. Brown of Ohio, William H. Childs of New York, Horace S. Wilkinson of New York, E. H. Hooker of New York, E. A. Van Valkenburg of Philadelphia, and Henry L. Stoddard of New York.

When Theodore Roosevelt returned to Oyster Bay from Brazil he was a changed man. Those of us who went out as members of the first delegation to call on him were shocked by his appearance and demeanor. He seemed to be lethargic. He wasn't the vigorous, dynamic Roosevelt whom we had known. Seated heavily in his chair, his reactions were slow and indecisive. It appeared to be an effort for him to follow what was said to him, and at least some of us doubted whether his physical losses in Brazil had not been such as to preclude the possibility of his ever again making an aggressive campaign as a popular national leader. Fortunately for himself, his friends, and the country, Theodore Roosevelt did come back within a shorter time than many might have ventured to predict, although the privations that he had suffered in Brazil probably hastened his death by many years. He was able, in due course, to resume his place as one of the outstanding leaders of his era.

In 1914 the Progressive party made a desultory, half-hearted campaign. We tried to re-elect the representatives who had been successful in 1912 as well as to add to their number, realizing that a Progressive bloc of respectable size in the House of Representatives would give us

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prestige and constitute a decided vantage ground from which to launch the campaign of 1916. In addition to trying to hold what we had in that body, we made a special effort to send to the Senate Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania and Raymond Robins of Illinois. We even went after some governorships.

Theodore Roosevelt appeared to be reluctant to engage actively in this campaign, but so much pressure was brought to bear upon him, especially on behalf of Pinchot and Robins, that he did make a number of speeches. In both Pennsylvania and Illinois, two strong Progressive states, sentiment for Theodore Roosevelt was very high. The campaign of 1914, however, demonstrated that while a strong popular leader can win votes for himself, he cannot deliver even devoted followers to another. Both Pinchot and Robins failed of election, although both men were able and forceful and unusual campaigners on their own account.

Even the most steadfast Progressive could not deny that defections back to the Republican party after the 1912 campaign had been serious. (So many people are political opportunists; they want to be on the winning side.) Until the election of 1914, however, there was no gauge with which to measure these defections. The inexpert and unenthusiastic campaign that we waged in that year ended with serious Progressive losses all along the line. Even Colonel Roosevelt seemed to those of us who came in contact with him to have lost heart. No ringing declarations came from him. There were no further calls to arms from him "for the duration of the war". In December of that year he told William Allen White of Kansas that the campaign of 1914 seemed to him "like whipping a dead horse". With Roosevelt entertaining such sentiments, it is not to be wondered at that his followers felt uncertain and unhappy, although what were left of the rank and file of the Progressive party after the 1914 elections were doggedly determined to go through to the end if only they should be given half a chance.

Meanwhile Perkins continued to sit in the middle of the web that he was spinning. Whether he took anyone completely into his confidence is anyone's guess. But I do know that it was impossible to tell from meeting to meeting of the National Executive Committee just what he was planning. Later I was to have grave doubts whether he even laid his cards face up on the table for Theodore Roosevelt himself. He was still true to the type of the high-powered businessman who makes up his own mind and then presses a button to summon an underling to carry out his orders.

During the interval between 1914 and 1916 I saw Colonel Roosevelt

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on a number of occasions—usually at Oyster Bay—and always when he came to Chicago. I had found that when I was a member of a group calling upon him it was difficult to make him come to grips with reality. So when I could, I tried to see him alone. I was one of those who very much wanted to see the Progressive party carry on. There were many others who were like minded—such men as Pinchot and Robins, Matthew Hale of Massachusetts, Hiram Johnson and Chester Rowell of California, John Parker of Louisiana, William Allen White, Victor Murdock, and former Governor Stubbs of Kansas, Bainbridge Colby of New York, Everett Colby of New Jersey, and Frank Knox, then of Michigan, to mention only a few of the more prominent. Personally, I believed that even if we couldn't win in 1916—and I never fooled myself that we could in that year—we could at least help to administer another thorough licking to the reactionary Republican party. It was my theory that that party could not stand more than one more such defeat. I believed that if we only would stick to our guns we would become one of the two major political parties of the country.

I soon gave up hope that "T. R." would consent to run again as our candidate for President unless the situation were such that he could not refuse. I knew that there was no other candidate in sight under whose leadership we could make such a fight as was necessary in order to come anywhere near attaining our objective in 1916, which was to destroy the Republican party. However, I wishfully thought that the Progressive Convention in 1916 would be so enthusiastically and so unanimously for Roosevelt that he could not, with good grace, decline to be our leader again.

But I did not fail to note, with a good deal of mental discomfort, that in our talks together Colonel Roosevelt never spoke as one who wanted to be or expected to be the Progressive candidate in 1916. He bluntly told William Allen White that he should not be asked to "sacrifice" himself again. As a matter of fact, as this brilliant Kansas editor has pointed out to me: "No one entered Roosevelt in the 1912 campaign. He jumped into the furnace with Meshach and Abednego with a prophet's zeal. Wild horses could not have kept him out."

From time to time "T. R." discussed with me various possible candidates who might be acceptable to the Republicans as well as to ourselves. On one such occasion he suggested Senator Philander C. Knox. In fact, he seemed more strongly drawn to Knox than to anyone else, but other names, too, were discussed. At another time he said to me: "Ickes, I have come to the conclusion that I ought never to be a candidate for

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public office again. I will always be interested in public affairs, but my role, it seems to me, will be to raise the black flag and strike at wrong whenever I see it."

I always pointed out to Colonel Roosevelt the obvious objections that would arise in progressive minds to the various candidates whom he suggested. I tried to persuade him that there was a political future for him other than the misanthropic one that he outlined to me on the occasion that I have just mentioned. However, there was no use trying to blink the fact that if Theodore Roosevelt were to head the Progressive national ticket in 1916, it would be in spite of himself. He would have to be drafted.

Meanwhile Perkins continued to swing himself delicately in and out of his web without ever breaking a single silken strand. That he was seeing Theodore Roosevelt privately and more frequently than anyone else could not be doubted; that he was encouraging Roosevelt to believe that the Republicans and the Progressives ought to get together on the same candidate (preferably "T. R." himself) in 1916 was undoubtedly true; that, in his effort to bring about this result, he had the encouragement and support of Roosevelt can hardly be questioned in the light of attendant and subsequent circumstances.

Soon it would be time to set the political stage for 1916. Lines were being written, and actors were rehearsing their parts. The bitter hate engendered in the hearts of the Republican leaders by Theodore Roosevelt when he ran on the Progressive ticket in 1912 had not been dulled. Notwithstanding, many Progressives hoped that the Republicans, having been taught the lesson that they so richly deserved in 1912, might tender their nomination in 1916 to Theodore Roosevelt, although few who possessed any degree of political sagacity believed for a moment that this would happen. The Old Guard leadership of the Republican party—Boise Penrose, Murray Crane, Reed Smoot, Elihu Root, Charles D. Hilles, and others—would rather see Woodrow Wilson re-elected President than agree to support the one man in the United States who had the surest chance to defeat him—Theodore Roosevelt.

Unfortunately, from the point of view of those who were willing to fight as long as necessary to establish firmly the Progressive party, the receiver of that party, George W. Perkins, was the man who was to do the negotiating on its behalf. Perkins hoped that the two parties would unite in opposition to the Democratic party. He wanted Roosevelt to be President again, but he also wanted union. The Republicans also desired union, but they were determined not to unite on Theodore

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Roosevelt. With Perkins, therefore, it necessarily was a question whether he wished for union with the Republican party more dearly than he wanted to see Theodore Roosevelt nominated on the Progressive ticket and, as an outside chance, elected in 1916.

The first move was made by Perkins. He caused the Progressive National Committee to be called together at Chicago on January 10, 1916. This was the first meeting of this committee since the election in 1912. In addition to the members of the National Committee, outstanding party leaders were present, and Mr. Perkins gave them all a dinner at the Congress Hotel. A declaration of principles had been prepared in advance by a committee consisting of Herbert Knox Smith of Connecticut, chairman, Chester H. Rowell of California, William Allen White of Kansas, E. A. Van Valkenburg of Pennsylvania, and William H. Childs of New York. This declaration of principles was read at the Chicago meeting and adopted without dissent. It restated and interpreted the position of the Progressive party on national and international affairs. The significant part of the declaration, however, was the following:

> Keenly alive to this [the alleged mismanagement of affairs by the Democratic party], we call the national convention of the Progressive party to assemble in Chicago at the same time the national convention of the Republican party is to assemble there. We take this action, believing that the surest way to secure for our country the required leadership will be by having, if possible, both the Republican and Progressive parties choose the same standard bearer and the same principles. We are confident that the rank and file of the Republican party and the very large independent vote of this country will support such an effort.
>
> We pledge ourselves to approach the consideration of the issues involved in such an effort without any desire to revive partisan bitterness. If the Republican convention is responsive to the patriotic spirit that brought the Republican party into being and that made it dominant for half a century; if it meets this crisis in the spirit of broad patriotism that rises above partisanship, the effort for a common leadership will be successful.
>
> As a result, when the conventions of the two parties adjourn, the spirit of confidence and victory for the leader thus selected and the principles to which he is committed will in itself go far for insuring victory in November. Should the effort fail, the responsibility for the result will not rest on the Progressive National Convention or on the four million voters who supported Progressive candidates in 1912.
>
> They, when called upon again to do so, will as firmly refuse to surrender to party machines. The responsibility will rest on other shoulders than ours, and this will be so apparent to the voters of the country as to result in victory for the national Progressive party in next fall's election. In this turning point in world history, we will not stick on details. We will lay aside partisanship and prejudice. But we will never surrender those principles for which we

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stand and have stood. We will follow only a leader whom we know stands for them and is able to put them through.

In discussing this declaration of principles with newspaper correspondents after its adoption, Perkins significantly said:

> We are all hoping that both the Progressive and the Republican parties will agree on a candidate, and it will not necessarily have to be Colonel Roosevelt. We are not thinking of the name of the candidate just now. The time for the convention is several months away, and in these days, when things are moving so fast and conditions changing so rapidly, we do not know who might be deemed the best man for the place when the time comes.

Mr. Perkins was beginning to show his hand. The country at last was being permitted to glimpse the scheme that had been hatching in his mind during the preceding three years. He was for Roosevelt for President—if he could get him without too much effort—but he was perfectly willing to support someone other than Roosevelt provided that he was in at the choosing. He was proposing to undertake negotiations with some of the shrewdest politicians in the country after having told them in advance that if he couldn't get what he wanted he would take what they were willing to give him. From the moment that this "declaration of principles" was issued and the statement of George W. Perkins published, it was a foregone conclusion that the Republican and the Progressive parties would not unite on Theodore Roosevelt as their candidate for President; that if Theodore Roosevelt ran at all it would be as the forlorn hope of the Progressive party after he had been offered to the Republicans and refused by them.

At once speculation became active as to whom the Republicans would nominate. A number of possible candidates were mentioned, but gradually the conviction grew that the most likely man was he who had made a distinguished record as governor of the State of New York and who was then a member of the Supreme Court under appointment by President Taft—Charles E. Hughes.

Would Hughes run? Had anyone sounded him out and, if so, who? There was lively speculation on both points. There was strong opinion to the effect that anyone would hesitate to approach a justice of the Supreme Court on a political matter, and that no justice, least of all Mr. Justice Hughes, would drag the Supreme Court into politics by becoming a candidate for a political office, even that of the presidency. This view seemed to gather popular strength as time went on.

On February 9, 1916, Representative C. Bascom Slemp of Virginia made public the following letter:

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My dear Mr. Slemp:

Your letter of Feb. 3d has been received. I am entirely out of politics, and I know nothing whatever of the matters to which you refer. I am totally opposed to the use of my name in connection with the nomination and selection or instruction of any delegates in my interest, either directly or indirectly.

(Signed) Charles E. Hughes.

On February 17 Mr. Henry A. Wise Wood of New York City wrote to Hughes calling his attention to the fact that, in spite of his repeated refusal to permit his name to be used in connection with the presidency, many influential persons insisted that his nomination be pressed in the hope that in the end he might consent to run.

To this communication, Mr. Justice Hughes replied under date of February 19:

My dear Sir:

Your letter of Feb. 17 has been received. I dislike to refuse an answer to your inquiry, but in view of my judicial office I do not feel that I have any right to take part in political discussion or make statements of the sort that would be expected from candidates for office. I am not a candidate actively or tacitly, and as I do not wish to do anything which would justly be regarded as an attempt to obtain political support I must ask to be excused from answering your inquiry.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) Charles E. Hughes.

Some time later, on March 6, in a letter to Charles H. Brown, a former state senator from Medford, Massachusetts, Mr. Justice Hughes said: "I must adhere to the position I have taken; as I have repeatedly said, I am not a candidate in any sense, and in view of my obligations as a member of the Supreme Court, I cannot permit the use of my name." Could anything be clearer, more unequivocal, and more emphatically explicit?

On May 14, 1916, former President Taft, the man who had elevated Hughes to the Supreme Court, arrived in Washington, and the following day it was published in several newspapers, including the Chicago *Tribune,* that Taft had called on Hughes the evening of May 14 and had spent more than an hour with him. According to this newspaper story, it was believed in some quarters that Mr. Justice Hughes had told Mr. Taft that he would accept the Republican nomination for President. Taft went on to New Haven that same night and could not be reached for comment. It was also rumored that former Senator

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Murray Crane of Massachusetts was supposed to have known in advance that Taft was to see Hughes.[1]

But in contradiction to these surmises stood the repeated and explicit declaration of Mr. Justice Hughes that he was not and would not be a candidate. In view, however, of what happened in June of that same year in the Coliseum at Chicago, someone must have known more accurately even than Hughes himself whether he would be a candidate or would permit the use of his name at the Republican Convention.

On May 10 there was held in New York a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Progressive National Committee which was attended by several party leaders in addition to the members. At the conclusion of this meeting George W. Perkins reaffirmed to the newspaper reporters the pledge of the Progressive party "to approach the consideration of the issues involved this year without any desire to revive partisan bitterness". The big stick was still in cold storage. The golden olive branch again was being extended by Mr. Perkins to Messrs. Penrose, Crane, Smoot, *et al.*

The Executive Committee recessed for luncheon to the Hotel Manhattan, where, at the head of the table sat Colonel Roosevelt. The Rough Rider emphasized the necessity of peace between the Republican and the Progressive parties if it could be brought about. That evening, at the conclusion of the session of the National Executive Committee, which did not adjourn until seven o'clock, Perkins attempted to dispel any impression that might exist that the Progressives, when they should meet in national convention in Chicago, would rush through their nominations so as to serve notice that unless the Republicans accepted Colonel Roosevelt there would be three tickets in the field. Said he: "We will present Colonel Roosevelt as our first choice to the Republican National Convention. If they refuse to accept him, we will say: 'Present some one on whom you can agree with approximately the same degree of unanimity and we will consider him.'" Thus once again Mr. Perkins made it clear that if the Republicans didn't want Colonel Roosevelt as their candidate for President, all they had to do was to say so and the Progressives would run up the white flag.

On May 24 there was another meeting of the National Executive Committee in New York with the usual attendance and with almost the usual concurrence in every proposal of the Receiver of the Progressive party, George W. Perkins. This meeting had been called to arrange

[1] Henry F. Pringle, in his *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (2 vols., New York, 1939), does not support these surmises or rumors, but neither does he negative them.

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details in connection with the Progressive National Convention, which was to meet in Chicago on June 7, concurrently with the assembling of the Republican National Convention in the same city. The most important of these details related to the selection of the temporary officers of the Progressive National Convention.

For temporary chairman of the convention Mr. Perkins suggested Oscar S. Straus of New York, and for permanent chairman he was firmly for Walter F. Brown of Ohio. I put forward the name of Raymond Robins of Chicago for temporary chairman, and my reasons were sufficiently impressive to convince Perkins, so that I carried my point, and Robins was agreed upon unanimously.

In explaining why he wanted Walter F. Brown for permanent chairman Mr. Perkins made a statement that did not appear as extraordinary then as it did later. He said that a situation might arise when it would be important to have in the chair a strong, aggressive chairman who had had plenty of experience in conventions and who knew how to wield a gavel. It seemed curious, when one considered it later, that it should have been thought necessary to have a "gaveling chairman" for the Progressive Convention, especially in view of the issue that the Progressives had made in 1912 of the "steam roller convention" of the Republicans over which Elihu Root, who also "knew how to wield a gavel", had presided.

It was indeed curious unless there was in Perkins's mind the thought that he might want to force something through the convention over the opposition of a majority of the delegates. In any event, Brown was agreed upon by this handful of men meeting in New York, although, in theory at least, the selection of the permanent chairman was supposed to be by the convention itself. Other temporary and permanent officers of the convention, as suggested by Mr. Perkins, were unanimously approved. The only break in the slate was the substitution of Raymond Robins for Oscar S. Straus.

This was the last meeting of the National Executive Committee that I ever attended. So far as I know, no later one was ever held. It was the last occasion that I attended or was invited to attend any conference, formal or informal, at which Mr. Perkins was present, in connection with the management or the proceedings of the Progressive National Convention, until after the convention had adjourned sine die. At my own expense I had gone to every meeting of the Executive Committee for almost four years when those meetings were held in New York. After Mr. Perkins and the other officials and leaders of the Progressive

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party had moved to Chicago, my home city, I was not asked to attend any meeting of any committee or to be present at any conference. Neither was Jane Addams, who also lived in Chicago and who, like myself, was a delegate-at-large from Illinois to the convention, asked to attend any conference in Chicago. It will be remembered that I was acting as Miss Addams's proxy in attending meetings of the Executive Committee in New York. It should be noted also that former Congressman Victor Murdock of Kansas, who was chairman of the Progressive National Committee and who, therefore, outranked Perkins, was not consulted by Perkins at any time, either prior to or during the convention, although he vigorously protested against his exclusion. The right wing, which constituted a very small part of the Progressives, through the aggressive Mr. Perkins, took absolute control of the convention and ran it until the break on the last day.

For several months preceding the date of the Republican and Progressive national conventions, the usual "educational" work was being carried on in the South. Somebody was interested in herding delegates in that section, a scandalous proceeding which has smirched the record of the Republican party from Civil War days. In fact, two somebodies seemed to be very much interested, and these two were figures of consequence in American politics, men who knew their way about among the Federal officeholders and prospective Federal officeholders who were able to "deliver" Republican delegates from the Southern states where, in most instances, that party was only a comfort station on a broad highway.

The two men who were carrying the gospel of "true Republicanism" south of the Mason and Dixon Line were Congressman C. Bascom Slemp of Virginia and Frank H. Hitchcock of New Mexico, who had been Theodore Roosevelt's Postmaster General and chairman of the Republican National Committee. It was generally believed that Mr. Slemp was the representative of the Penrose-Crane-Smoot reactionary Republican organization. But whom did Hitchcock represent, and who was financing his activities? So far as I know, these questions have never been answered, but a good many people thought at the time that Hitchcock was working under the direction of George W. Perkins. In any event, Hitchcock later turned out to be an ally and agent of Perkins.

The two conventions had been called to meet in Chicago on June 7, the Republican at the old Coliseum and the Progressive in the Auditorium Theatre, where Benjamin Harrison had been nominated in 1888. Several days in advance of that date the leaders of both parties

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began to converge on Chicago. George W. Perkins arrived on June 1, and he immediately started to issue releases to the newspapers. He reiterated the adherence of the Progressives to the statement that had been issued in January which, it will be remembered, was directed to the proposition that the Republicans and the Progressives should unite on one candidate. But, in addition, he gave out this further significant interview:

> There is no denying the fact that many of our delegates are in favor of nominating Roosevelt without waiting. Just what will be done no one can tell at this time. Personally, I am in favor of waiting until we see the temper and atmosphere of the Republican convention before making a nomination. I stand by the statement issued by the Progressive National Committee last January.[2] I am here in a spirit of conciliation and hoping that the Republicans will nominate a candidate and adopt a platform that we can endorse.

In the light of subsequent events, it is clear from this that it was not only the hope of Mr. Perkins that the two parties would unite on a candidate, but that the strategy that he had in mind was to permit the Republicans to nominate first so as to make this result the more certain. The Progressive party was to be the tail of the Republican kite. Perkins's plans were precisely those that the Republicans would have outlined for him if they had been consulted.

On June 3, when Perkins was asked if he had held conferences with some of the Old Guard leaders, he admitted that a number of conferences had been held and that he expected that there would be more. Unexpectedly, Victor Murdock walked into one such conference and let out a red hot blast of protest. Asked point blank whether the Progressives would accept Justice Hughes as a candidate, Mr. Perkins replied: "We haven't got that far yet." The authority assumed by Perkins to negotiate with the Republicans was a usurped one. This is true even if he was acting with the knowledge and consent of Theodore Roosevelt. The national conventions were about to meet, and many leaders of the Progressive party were already in Chicago. These leaders,

[2] Practically five months had elapsed since the last meeting of the Progressive National Committee. Usually the full party committee meets in the convention city prior to the date of the convention itself. But there was no meeting of the Progressive National Committee prior to the 1916 convention any more than there was one of the National Executive Committee. Perkins assumed the right to speak for both. The explanation of such a situation in the party that numbered among its leaders such strong and forceful men as Hiram Johnson, John M. Parker, Victor Murdock, Raymond Robins, William Allen White, and many others who could be named, lies in the fact that, in the final analysis, the Progressive party was the personal political vehicle of Theodore Roosevelt, and the general belief among party members was that Perkins spoke with the knowledge and by the authority of Theodore Roosevelt.

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possibly excepting Walter F. Brown and one or two other political toadies of Perkins, were left completely in the dark except for the vague and indefinite items that appeared in the newspapers.

As a matter of course I expected that Mr. Perkins, shortly after his arrival in Chicago, would call a meeting of the National Executive Committee. Instead of doing so, he went into retirement in his quarters at the Blackstone Hotel, where no one had access to him except the small group of "yes" men upon whom he had mainly relied since the 1912 campaign. Some of these men, while progressive in name, were reactionary at heart. They had been for Theodore Roosevelt for purely personal reasons, but they longed for the day when they could creep back to the Republican party even if they had to return as penitents.

When the suspicion began to grow that it was Perkins's intention to play a lone hand as though he were the owner in fee simple of the Progressive party and that, apparently, he was considering Mr. Justice Hughes favorably as the nominee of both parties, I issued the following statement on June 4, 1916:

> To use the excuse of judicial dignity to avoid expressing opinions which must alienate some of his inharmonious supporters, and avoid giving up a life position until safely assured of a nomination, reflects little credit either on the Supreme Court or on the candidate. Justice Hughes broke the silence recently with his secretary's statement denying the authority of an utterance apparently favorable to Colonel Roosevelt. If the judicial dignity is not impaired by a statement unfriendly to a rival candidate, could not a statement be given out with equal propriety stating the candidate's position on the questions of the day?
>
> Certainly, Progressives will not nominate Justice Hughes without knowing his position on the vital issues of the day. No agreement can be reached between representatives of the two parties to nominate him prior to a public, formal statement of his position. Nor will the Progressives be willing to accept any nominee, even upon a satisfactory Republican platform, without knowledge that the nominee is the embodiment of that platform. The possibility of a joint nomination of Justice Hughes by Republicans and Progressives seems, therefore, a remote contingency.

After this statement had been published I heard from Mr. Perkins for the first time since his arrival in Chicago. That evening he called me up at my home. Complainingly, he told me that no member of the Executive Committee should issue a statement without prior consultation with him. What I had said would make it very difficult to achieve the results that he was working for. He thought that it was a great mistake to give the impression that Justice Hughes would not be satisfactory to the Progressives as a candidate.

I reminded Mr. Perkins that there had been no meeting of the

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National Executive Committee since his arrival in Chicago and that I had not heard from him, directly or indirectly. In the circumstances I did not know what his policy was and, in any event, how could anyone except the National Committee, or in its absence, the Executive Committee, decide upon a policy? In conclusion I told him that he had no right to speak for the Progressive party in the absence of express authority so to do and that I proposed to follow the course that to me seemed best calculated to advance the interests of the party.

The Progressive National Convention of 1916 was one of the strangest affairs in the history of American politics. The delegates who crowded the Auditorium Theatre had come from all parts of the country for just one purpose, and that was to nominate Theodore Roosevelt again as their candidate for President. Not only did they propose to nominate Roosevelt, they wanted to do it quickly and be done with it. If the delegates had had their way the business of the convention would have been concluded within one day, or two at the most, whereupon they would have packed their bags and gone home, leaving the Republicans to "take it or leave it". But Perkins willed otherwise. He continued to hold "many conferences" with representatives of the Republican Old Guard. It was also his intention, if he could bring it about, that the Republicans should nominate first.

When the Progressive Convention was called to order, Raymond Robins was presented as temporary chairman. One of the most convincing and eloquent speakers in America, Robins excelled himself on this occasion. His address was a magnificent effort and aroused the convention to heights of enthusiasm.

It will be remembered that George W. Perkins's original choice for temporary chairman had been Oscar S. Straus, but, more than anything else, he wanted Walter F. Brown for permanent chairman because he foresaw that the occasion might arise when the gavel of the permanent chairman would have to be called into play. At the conclusion of Robins's keynote speech the Committee on Permanent Organization went into session. During the luncheon recess Charles Ringer, who was the representative from Illinois on that committee, sought me out to tell me that he did not believe that his group could be persuaded to report the name of Brown for permanent chairman.

By his speech Robins had, unwittingly, pushed over the Brown applecart. Overwhelmingly the members of the Committee on Permanent Organizations were for Robins for permanent chairman. Ringer asked me what he should do, and my advice to him was that if the com-

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mittee wanted Robins it ought to follow its own judgment. Knowing as I did the temper of the convention, I did not believe that Perkins could defeat Robins on the floor even if he were rash enough to attempt it. So the committee proposed Raymond Robins for permanent chairman, and later, by a unanimous vote, he was elected to that position. The ultimate result of this action was that when George W. Perkins needed a strong right arm with a heavy gavel to impose his will upon the convention he found himself, instead, with a chairman who, believing in democratic processes and in the rule of the majority, could not be used as a puppet at the end of a string held in Perkins's hand. It was at this critical point that Perkins's carefully laid plans began to go awry.

Throughout the days when the Progressive Convention was in session George W. Perkins was rarely on the floor. Constantly he brooded anxiously over "his" convention from the platform. But whether on the platform or on the floor, he carefully watched every proceeding. Although he wanted the convention to follow his line, he was afraid to take even the leaders into his confidence. A "deliberative" assemblage became a dawdling guessing match. The delegates had plenty of time on their hands. Whenever there was a lull in the proceedings Perkins would step to the edge of the platform to make a trite statement about some unimportant matter. Throughout, the burden of his song was that "he had had only three or four hours sleep a night since coming to Chicago; he was tired, very tired." His manner became anxious and his voice querulous. Apparently he wanted to create the impression that he was killing himself in the interest of the Progressive party, working while the delegates played or slept, carrying upon his bent shoulders the weight of the Nation.

While the delegates were eager to nominate Roosevelt and go home, they continued for some time to be patient and good natured. They knew that they were going to nominate Roosevelt in the end, and they were content to wait, on the chance that there was some good reason why Perkins wanted them to wait. But, gradually, a feeling of uneasiness grew. Suspicions became aroused that they were to be defeated in their purpose to nominate their hero. Was Perkins in the plot? They didn't know, but they began to ask each other questions.

In common with many other delegates, I, too, was worried. I was one of those who wanted Roosevelt to be nominated quickly. I wished the Progressive party to go into the next campaign with a ticket of its own, regardless of what the Republicans might do. I watched Perkins

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closely. I considered carefully all that he said, every move that he made. I reflected upon the quality of his leadership during the preceding four years and attempted to unravel its purpose. But, particularly, I turned over and over in my mind the strangeness of his actions since he had come to Chicago on June 1. I knew that he had talked and was talking with very few Progressives and that those few, in the main, were his "yes" men. I knew that into his apartment at the Blackstone Hotel there ran a direct telephone line that connected him with Colonel Roosevelt at Oyster Bay. I knew that no one except Perkins or one or two others, with his permission, ever got a chance to talk with Colonel Roosevelt over that private wire. In other words, Colonel Roosevelt was seeing the Progressive Convention through the crafty and self-interested eyes of a former partner of J. P. Morgan & Company.

As our convention continued meekly to mark time, waiting for the Republicans to get ahead, I came to the definite conclusion that it was the undisclosed purpose of George W. Perkins to keep us from naming a candidate for President until after the Republicans had nominated. Only thus could our own proceedings to that hour be made to mean anything. Then he would urge us not to put up a candidate of our own but to accept the Republican nominee on the plea that, with three tickets in the field, the re-election of President Wilson would be a foregone conclusion. I communicated my theory to two or three other Progressive leaders in whom I had confidence, and we proceeded to get busy.

When the convention recessed at the end of the morning session of the final day, a carefully selected group met at the University Club for luncheon as my guests. I do not recall now the names of all who were there, but Raymond Robins was one of them. There were also present, if my recollection serves me correctly, Gifford Pinchot, Chester H. Rowell, Matthew Hale, William Allen White, Henry Allen, Victor Murdock, Bainbridge Colby, Donald R. Richberg, and others.[3] I told these men what I believed that Perkins was planning to do. No one challenged this. In fact, practically every one of these men had come to the same conclusion on his own account.

Without a dissenting voice we agreed that there was not a chance in the world of the Republicans nominating Roosevelt unless we named

[3] My mind is not clear as to whether or not Governor Hiram W. Johnson of California and John M. Parker of Louisiana attended this luncheon meeting at the University Club. However, they undoubtedly had been informed; in any event they were kept advised, and all of us worked together in closest understanding throughout the convention.

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him first. It was childish to think otherwise, and if Perkins was committed to the plan that we suspected, he was either a knave or a fool. In any event, he would be selling the Progressive party down the river. We determined that, come what might, Theodore Roosevelt would be nominated by our convention before the Republicans named their candidate. We were satisfied that we would be able to do this because we knew that the convention would follow the leadership of our group, even if that meant overriding Perkins.

We agreed upon a plan. William Allen White was to sit near the telegraph instrument at the back of the Auditorium stage over which was coming instant information of what was happening at the Coliseum. Donald R. Richberg was to go to the Coliseum itself on a ticket that we were able to produce, and, as soon as the first nominating speech was begun, he was to hurry to the nearest telephone and advise us of that fact. In this way we had a double check. The rest of the plan that we then formulated was subsequently carried out in detail.

James R. Garfield, the floor leader of the convention, had not been asked to our conference. While we were confident that he would agree with us, we thought that it would place him in an embarrassing position because the procedure that we proposed to follow would cut right across the plans of George W. Perkins, at whose instance Garfield had been made floor leader. For the same reason we did not communicate our plans to him.

Shortly after the afternoon session was called to order, Perkins came down to the floor and led me over to a side wall. Beginning with, "I know what you men are up to", he proceeded to tell me how hard and how long he had worked through sleepless nights. Said he, in substance: "Some of you think that I am trying to bring about the nomination of Hughes. Why, Hughes is the man who besmirched my name. He had me arrested on a charge of grand larceny and tried to send me to the penitentiary.[4] Do you think that I would do anything for him?" He added that it wouldn't be fair if we should interfere with his plans.

I told him that none of us knew what his plans were, except to the extent that we could puzzle them out for ourselves, since he hadn't consulted anyone so far as we knew, except possibly a few of his own

[4] Perkins was referring to the insurance scandals unearthed by Hughes. George W. Perkins, at that time a partner of J. P. Morgan & Company, was a member of the Board of Directors of the New York Life Insurance Company and as such was indicted as the result of facts brought to light by the Hughes investigation. As is well known, it was this investigation that started Hughes sharply up the ladder as a public man.

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intimate friends. I tried to make it clear that it was not a personal matter at all with us but that the delegates had been brought together in the expectation and belief that they would have the privilege of nominating Theodore Roosevelt for President and that to balk them of this right would not only be breaking faith with them but would have the effect of destroying what was left of the Progressive party. I concluded with the statement that, so far as I was concerned, I was committed to the proposition that, whatever the Republican Convention might do, we ought to nominate Roosevelt. Moreover, we intended to do it if we could.

There was a tense feeling among the delegates that afternoon. Even those who did not know that a convention revolution against Perkins had been planned sensed that something was about to happen.

William Allen White got word over the ticker that nomination speeches were about to begin at the Coliseum. Donald R. Richberg verified this information by telephone. Word was passed to Bainbridge Colby, who at once asked for recognition. Chairman Robins, with eyes and ears on the alert, declared: "The Gentleman from New York has the floor." At this point Perkins arose from his chair in the first row of the platform and quickly stepped forward. Without waiting for recognition, he started to talk in a high-pitched, hysterical voice, but no one understood what he said. The delegates, however, did hear what Robins said as, with a backward sweep of his left arm, he literally pushed Perkins toward his seat. In substance, it was this: "Mr. Perkins, the time for talking has passed. It is time to act. We are going to nominate a candidate for President. Mr. Bainbridge Colby has the floor." As had been planned, Colby's nominating speech ran something like this: "Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Progressive National Convention: I have the honor to place in nomination, for President of the United States on the Progressive ticket, the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt of New York."

As Colby took his seat the convention burst into enthusiastic cheers, but Robins, intent upon doing a thorough job as quickly as possible, motioned the delegates into silence. Promptly Governor Hiram W. Johnson of California arose to second the nomination in even fewer words than had been employed by Bainbridge Colby. Robins called for the ayes and nayes and thereupon declared Theodore Roosevelt to be the nominee of the Progressive party for President by the unanimous vote of the delegates. Governor Johnson, who had been the party's candidate for Vice-President in 1912, had told us that he would not run

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again, and, in quick but orderly fashion, John M. Parker, former Governor of Louisiana, was named as the running mate of Roosevelt. A motion to adjourn sine die was adopted, and Perkins never did have a chance to say what he had stepped forward to tell the convention when Robins refused to recognize him.

For the want of a chairman, the house of cards that George W. Perkins had so carefully built up fell to pieces. Perhaps it would have toppled anyhow, the sentiment of the delegates being what it was, but, on the other hand, it is not impossible that, with Walter F. Brown wielding the gavel, Perkins might have delayed the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt and thus have prevented it altogether. Neither is it impossible that, either with or without the authority of Theodore Roosevelt, Perkins at such a critical juncture might have announced to the convention that he had authority to say that "T. R." was gratified by the nomination of Hughes and would support him.

In any event the Progressive Convention named its ticket and adjourned before the Republicans had nominated. The Republican nominee turned out to be Justice Charles Evans Hughes, who had repeatedly said that he would not be a candidate and who had even gone so far as to declare that he would not permit the use of his name.

It was at 12:04 P. M., June 12, 1916, that Bainbridge Colby nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President on the Progressive ticket. Immediately after the final adjournment of the convention, the new National Committee met and later gave out a statement covering its organization. All of the acts normally expected of a political party following a national convention were faithfully gone through with. But these acts were more or less automatic. It was clear to everyone that the future of the Progressive party depended upon what Theodore Roosevelt would say.

There was a rush to get into direct communication with Roosevelt. For the first time someone other than Perkins or one of his trusties was able to talk with the colonel over the private wire that connected Oyster Bay with Perkins's private suite.

William Allen White was one of those who went on the wire. He had been in favor of Roosevelt's nomination. A true progressive, he was not ready to hoist a white flag. In talking with "T. R.", he quickly learned that the man who had just been nominated as the presidential candidate of the Progressive party for the second time had little, if any, knowledge of the state of mind, the personnel, or the ideals of the Progressive National Convention. White, as a member of the convention,

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in close touch with its proceedings and as a trusted friend of Theodore Roosevelt of many years standing, tried to give the colonel a true view of what lay in the minds and hearts of the delegates and those whom they represented. But the Rough Rider had been seeing political moves through Perkins's eyes too long and too exclusively to be able to change his perspective. He made it clear that he would not accept the nomination that had just been voted him.

There was one significant interchange between William Allen White and Colonel Roosevelt during this conversation. The latter asked White why he had not heard from him and certain others during the convention. White replied that he had not been invited to use the private wire and that he had felt a natural hesitation in assuming the right to use a telephone that was located in Perkins's private suite. White got the clear impression that the colonel was not pleased that he had been cut off from communication with certain of his friends whom he trusted. He said to White: "I told Perkins that I wanted this line open to all of my friends—you and Hiram [Johnson] and Jim [Garfield] and Raymond [Robins] and Gifford [Pinchot]—I specifically named you five!"[5]

In short order word came from Oyster Bay which added to our doubt that Colonel Roosevelt would run on the Progressive ticket, although some of us still had a faint hope that we might persuade him. While he did not definitely say "No", he did, in effect, utter this emphatic word. He announced that he would consider the matter carefully and give his reply at an early date. But we knew what he meant, and it was a discouraged and disillusioned rear guard of Progressives that sadly filed out of Chicago back to the homes that they had left in such high hopes. The newspapers, in interpreting Colonel Roosevelt's attitude to the country, stated, in no uncertain terms, that he would not run on the Progressive ticket. His flag had been struck and struck to the man whom, in his heart, unjustly and unreasonably, as many of us thought, he hated; the man whom, frequently, he had sneeringly referred to as "another Woodrow Wilson with whiskers".

As the result of the Progressive Convention in 1916, thousands of men and women to whom Roosevelt had been an idol and whom they had followed blindly and unquestioningly became bitter when they thought of him. "Roosevelt has betrayed the Progressive party", "Roosevelt has sold the party out", etc., became common expressions when Progressives met. It was difficult, as a matter of fact it still is difficult,

[5] This direct quotation is with the consent of William Allen White, who, as well as Raymond Robins, has read the manuscript of this article.

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to understand how Roosevelt could have followed the course that he did.

The Progressive party, in large measure, was the outward expression of the love and the admiration, amounting almost to idolatry, that the overwhelming majority of its members felt for Theodore Roosevelt. They believed that by unfair tactics and crooked machinations he had been denied the Republican nomination in 1912. Personally or politically, with only a relatively few exceptions, none of the people who took their political lives in their hands when they left the Republican and Democratic parties in 1912 to follow Roosevelt had a thing to gain.[6] Yet they were willing to risk all, if necessary, to sacrifice all, because of their faith in one man. More than once Roosevelt had assured them that, win or lose in 1912, the Progressive party would go on and that the fight for the principles for which it stood would continue. He had sounded this same belligerent note before leaving on the Brazilian expedition. It was inconceivable, incomprehensible, that he would allow his devoted followers to assemble in a national convention at their own expense and at further personal and political risks to themselves if he did not intend, loyally and in good faith, to abide by the result of that convention.

What had happened at Chicago did not comport with their estimate of Roosevelt's character. To be sure, the shocking suggestion by Roosevelt, while the convention was still in session, that the Progressives unite with the Republicans on Senator Henry Cabot Lodge as the candidate for President had created a feeling of uneasiness that amounted almost to distrust.[7] On that occasion a chill went through the Auditorium Theatre. There was no man or group of men in that convention who could have delivered it to Lodge, despite the preference expressed for him by Roosevelt. Notwithstanding this unhappy episode, so perpetually injurious to the colonel himself, the delegates believed that if they should nominate him, he would not fail to carry their flag. Why had he permitted the convention to be held if, all the time, he harbored the secret intention of slapping it in the face if it should do him the honor

[6] William Allen White's wise comment at this point was: "Perhaps this was their weakness. I am more and more convinced that in the *machinery* of politics, unselfish men are impotent. Greed greases the wheels of politics."

[7] Before Lodge's name was mentioned as a possible compromise candidate to the convention itself, Colonel Roosevelt had suggested the names of both Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Senator John Wingate Weeks as candidates whom the Progressive party might support if nominated by the Republicans. Weeks's name, however, never came into the open.

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of nominating him, as he must have understood was its clear intention if it were permitted to have its own way?

The real tragedy of the Progressive Convention of 1916 lay in what it did to the faith and hope of thousands upon thousands of fine citizens, many of them the youth of the land. Many Progressives ruefully accepted the cynical verdict of reactionary Republicans that Roosevelt had deliberately betrayed them, "had sold them out", as the usual expression ran. However, the consensus of opinion among the close friends of Roosevelt and those who were the most active leaders at the convention was that Roosevelt was still sound at heart but that he made the grievous mistake of relying too implicitly upon George W. Perkins. Before making a decision that would seriously reflect upon his political honor, as well as affect the lives of many who had made serious political sacrifices to follow him, we believed that he owed it to himself, as well as to the party, to consult the rank and file of the Progressives and particularly those leaders who, unlike George W. Perkins, had no ulterior purpose to serve.

Many have never been able to understand why Colonel Roosevelt should have made such a momentous decision without conferring with such public-spirited citizens and influential leaders as Hiram W. Johnson, John M. Parker, Raymond Robins, William Allen White, Jane Addams, Frank Knox, Victor Murdock, Bainbridge Colby, Henry J. Allen, James R. Garfield, Gifford Pinchot, Matthew Hale, Chester H. Rowell, and many others who had followed him for many years. But, except for Roosevelt's unaccountable failure to consult the Progressives themselves, to give them a day in court to plead their own cause and his, I have no hesitation in giving the devious George W. Perkins discredit for the ignominious and ignoble death of the Progressive party.

I was convinced that Perkins, who had been followed by Progressives in good, if simple, faith ever since 1912, had been scheming for this result for four long years. I give him credit for mildly preferring that Roosevelt should be the joint nominee of the Republican and the Progressive parties. He wanted this if it could be brought about, but, above everything else, he wanted to be the kingmaker, the man without whose machinations there would be three parties in the field in 1916 as there had been in 1912. He wanted Roosevelt, but he didn't want him badly enough. He didn't want him if he had to forego the gratification of any personal ambition of his own. He was willing to take someone else, as the whole world knew from his public statements. In politics it is axiomatic that a man who has announced a second choice does not have a first. Perkins was too shrewd a man not to realize

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that when he said, in effect, to Republican leaders, "My first choice is Roosevelt, but if you will not accept him I will consider a proposition from you", there would not be a chance in a million of his getting Roosevelt.

It was perfidious on the part of George W. Perkins to capitalize and then to betray the enthusiasm for and devotion to Theodore Roosevelt of the Progressives of the country for his own personal ends, as he did in 1916. If Roosevelt had been privy to Perkins's plans and permitted him to go ahead, Roosevelt necessarily stood in pari delictu with Perkins. Was it possible for Theodore Roosevelt, in entire good faith, to stand by and allow the Progressives to select delegates and hold a national convention? It is true that no one knows what misrepresentations Perkins may have made to him. Perkins knew all the time what he was doing, even if no one else did. Candor compels the statement that, skillful and experienced in the ways of politics as he was, Roosevelt can hardly be exonerated for not understanding the implications in Perkins's preconvention statements about being willing to consider a candidate to be presented by the Republicans if Roosevelt were not acceptable to them. One may even say further that Roosevelt owed it to the Progressives of the country, who had followed his leadership and were prepared to follow it to the bitter end, even more than he owed it to himself, to have a complete and thorough understanding in advance with Perkins as to just what the plans of that slippery gentleman were. After all, these devoted citizens were not the personal property even of Roosevelt himself, much less that of Perkins.

If Perkins was going to trade with those astute gentlemen, Penrose, Murray Crane, and Smoot, he had to show them that he had something to deliver. Therefore the Progressive Convention in 1916. Perkins had no cause to be unhappy at Chicago until the convention sensed his treachery and, breaking the leash with which he was coaxingly leading it, insisted on nominating Roosevelt before the Republicans named Hughes. If Perkins had been more of a realist, he would have known that he was the last man who could lead the Progressives unless he was leading them in the direction in which they wanted to go. They were not powerless stockholders in a giant corporation susceptible of manipulation after the Wall Street fashion of "reorganizing". After 1912 the Progressives had accepted Perkins solely because of their admiration for and confidence in "T. R.", but they had never been able to overcome completely the doubt and mistrust that they had had originally for this former Morgan partner turned political "crusader".

After the new Progressive National Committee had organized on

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the afternoon of June 10, it adjourned to meet again in Chicago on June 26. Before it met on the latter date Colonel Roosevelt had definitely and formally declined the nomination for President. He had done more than this. He had declared for Hughes, even without waiting for formal capitulation by the party which he had founded and "led". The colonel was safely seated on the bandwagon, leaving his too-trustful followers dazed and disorganized.

The meeting of the committee was a stormy one. James R. Garfield of Ohio, who had been the convention floor leader, offered a resolution supporting the position of Colonel Roosevelt and endorsing his recommendation "that we support Mr. Hughes". After a bitter and acrimonious debate, this resolution was adopted by a vote of 32 to 6, with 9 not voting. The opposition was led by Bainbridge Colby, who held a proxy from the national committeeman of Florida. He advocated a third ticket headed by Victor Murdock. John M. Parker, the nominee for Vice-President, fought the majority of the committee and made a moving plea for a third party. He declared that, notwithstanding Colonel Roosevelt's action, he would run for Vice-President even if he ran alone, and this he subsequently did, to the admiration of every Progressive in the country. However, on account of the election laws in many of the states, he was able to get on the ballot only in Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Montana, New York, and Oklahoma.

Most of us decided to follow Theodore Roosevelt into the Hughes camp, even though it was bitter medicine for many. This was not because we did not have for Hughes great respect and admiration. In my own case I had personally been for Hughes as the candidate on the Republican ticket in 1908 when Theodore Roosevelt had made the mistake, that he later regretted, of forcing Taft on the party and the country. We regretted the choice that had been imposed upon us because we felt that there was a principle at stake which went far beyond the question either of Hughes's personality or availability. So the majority of us went back into the Republican party, unhappy and discouraged but determined to do everything that we could to elect Hughes in November.

The practical result was that, although Perkins had not been able to keep us from nominating Roosevelt, he had his will of us in the end when we lined up for Hughes. We were not, however, delivered like a pig in a poke. We exercised our free and independent judgment after Theodore Roosevelt had refused our nomination. Stranded and leaderless, we had nowhere else to go except to Wilson. A good-sized

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minority, under capable and idealistic leadership, did take that route, and no one felt like rebuking them. At best, it was a narrow choice, the making of which was determined in large measure by personal and political friendships and by prior party affiliations. Many of those who went over to Wilson, like Murdock and Bainbridge Colby and Matthew Hale and J. A. H. Hopkins, had been Republicans. One of our outstanding leaders, Raymond Robins, who had been a life-long Democrat up to 1912, decided for Hughes. Practically all of the rest of us who enlisted in the Hughes campaign had been Republicans before 1912.

A few days after the convention several of us found ourselves in New York—Governor Hiram Johnson, Raymond Robins, James R. Garfield, Gifford Pinchot, Chester H. Rowell, and one or two others, in addition to myself. Perkins invited all of us to dine with him at the Union League Club. Raymond Robins sat next to Perkins at one end of the table. When the soup was served, Robins turned to Perkins in his frank and engaging manner and said: "Mr. Perkins, just how well do you know this man Hughes?" Perkins's face brightened like that of a man who is asked to discourse on his favorite theme. "Why", he said, "I know him very well indeed. As a matter of fact, I consider him one of my closest friends. We have many interests in common. I never go to Washington without calling on him. I wish all of you could meet him. I know that you would think as highly of him as I do." I do not know whether my expression showed the astonishment that I felt. I still had clearly in my mind what Perkins had said to me at the convention in Chicago. This I had repeated immediately afterwards to the members of my "gang". At that time Hughes was the man who had besmirched Perkins's name by causing his arrest on a charge of grand larceny. "Do you think that I would do anything for him?", Perkins had asked in an aggrieved tone on that occasion. Now it seemed that Perkins was a close, personal friend of the Republican nominee and that he never went to Washington without seeing him. Leaning toward Gifford Pinchot, who sat next to me, I said, *sotto voce*, "It looks as if Raymond has turned up something very interesting."

William R. Willcox of New York was selected by Mr. Hughes as the chairman of the Republican National Committee and therefore in charge of his campaign. Whether or not Perkins was influential in this selection I do not know of my own knowledge, but rumor had it at the time that Perkins was really responsible for the Willcox appointment. Politically, the new national chairman was unknown and inexperienced. As the campaign developed, those who were intimately con-

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nected with it, and this seemed to include Willcox himself, came to look upon Perkins as equal in authority with the supposed leader, if not the actual leader himself.

The Republican National Committee of 1916 was reactionary in the extreme. It was in the absolute control of men who hated the Progressives and who in their turn were distrusted by us. This is easily understood when it is remembered that, almost without exception, the progressives had left the party in 1912. Because he wanted to conciliate the latter and thus win their support, and probably also because he did not have any too much trust in the Penrose-Murray Crane-Smoot leadership, Justice Hughes did the unusual thing of taking the actual management of his campaign out of the hands of the National Committee. He set up a campaign committee of his own, consisting of eighteen members, including Willcox as chairman. Of the remainder, eleven were regular Republicans and six Progressives. The Republicans were: John T. Adams of Iowa, W. H. Crocker of California, F. W. Estabrook of New Hampshire, James A. Hemenway of Indiana, A. T. Hert of Kentucky, R. B. Howell of Nebraska, Alvah H. Martin of Virginia, Herbert Parsons of New York, S. A. Perkins of Washington, Charles B. Warren of Michigan, and Ralph E. Williams of Oregon. The Progressives were: Everett Colby of New Jersey, James R. Garfield of Ohio, Harold L. Ickes of Illinois, George W. Perkins of New York, Chester H. Rowell of California, and Oscar S. Straus of New York.

In addition to being a member of this committee in my own right, I held the proxy of Chester H. Rowell of California during the campaign. However, there never was any meeting of the committee so that the right to vote was an empty honor—a further exemplification of the Perkins theory that a "good" committee is one that never meets. During the campaign I was attached to Western headquarters at Chicago, charged with the particular duty of trying to hold the Western Progressives in line but without being given even a dime to build up an organization in three or four critical states. I have always believed that if this had been done, Hughes would have been elected. Perkins operated from the New York headquarters.

There was no doubt in my own mind that, if elected, Mr. Hughes would fill the office of President with distinction to himself and credit to the country. Deeply interested in his success, I believed from the beginning that he would win if he could capture the votes of the Progressives. I devoted every effort to bring this about. I literally made a nuisance of myself at Western headquarters, bombarding A. T. Hert

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of Kentucky, who was Western manager, and others, to do this or refrain from doing that because of its possible effect upon Progressive sentiment. I was listened to patiently; my personal relationship with members of the Western headquarters staff was pleasant; but I was talking to deaf ears. Hert's theory was that if we should carry New York, Indiana, and Illinois, Hughes could not fail to win. I conceded that this was probable, but I was receiving disturbing reports from various states in the West which, in normal circumstances, or even with specialized campaigns adapted to different circumstances, would have elected Hughes even with California in the Wilson column as it turned out in the end.

All of my efforts to bring about a real amalgamation of the Progressives with the Republicans failed. The Republican leaders apparently did not propose to permit the Progressives to come back into the party without a period of irritating probation. Theirs was to be a real purgatory. Apparently, George W. Perkins was not interested in any special consideration for the Progressives, even for the purpose of bringing them into the Hughes camp. Apparently, he thought that Hughes was sure to win anyhow. He was looking out for himself; he had made, or was expecting to make, his own terms, and he wanted the Progressive aberration and his connection therewith to be forgotten as quickly as possible.

The result of the ineptly and selfishly managed Hughes campaign confirmed the fears that I had expressed while it was in progress not only to Hert but to Perkins and to Chairman Willcox. Hughes was defeated not only as the result of a lack of vision but by a want of ordinary political sense on the part of his managers. The Progressive party in 1912 had made possible the triumphant election of Woodrow Wilson in that year. In 1916 there were still enough resentful and disillusioned Progressives to assure his re-election.

One more brief but anticlimactic scene was enacted before the curtain was finally rung down on the Progressive party. In February of 1918 there was a meeting of the Republican National Committee in St. Louis. Mr. Willcox had resigned as chairman, and the committee was to elect his successor while taking stock of the situation in the country. As a graceful gesture, the Progressive members of the Hughes Campaign Committee were invited to attend. I was going to St. Louis in my own right, and once again Chester H. Rowell asked me to act as his proxy. George W. Perkins wired me from New York that he hoped I could join his train and go to St. Louis with him. This invitation I

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declined, whereupon he asked me to breakfast with him at his hotel on the morning of February 11.

I arrived in St. Louis on February 10, several hours in advance of Perkins. I was in the lobby of the Jefferson Hotel when newspaper correspondents showed me a statement that Mr. Perkins had given out as he stepped from his train. In this statement he said: "All we Progressives ask is that a Republican be selected as chairman of the National Committee who, by his record and ability, will at once give promise of being able to harmonize and organize; for a political party succeeds by assimilation, not by elimination." After I had read this statement, I remarked to the newspaper correspondents who wanted to know how I felt about it that "Perkins was up to his old trick of assuming to speak for the Progressives without first conferring with them", adding, "In the coming campaign, if we are to win, we must hold those Progressives who voted for Hughes in 1916 and win back those who voted for President Wilson. Don't let us leave St. Louis with the renewal of the factional differences which will mean defeat at the next election."

The newspapers next morning carried both Perkins's statement and my interview. When I appeared in Mr. Perkins's suite at the appointed hour for breakfast, I found him holding a newspaper in his hands. He was very much agitated. He almost stuttered in his excitement. Had I made the statement that had been attributed to me, he asked. I replied that I had. He thought that it didn't show good teamwork, and I replied that I hadn't been aware of any desire for teamwork on his part; that he knew that I was to be in St. Louis and that he had no right, without consultation, to give out a statement proclaiming what the Progressives did or did not think. He had only meant it for the best, he declared, but I insisted that he had exceeded his authority and that his statement was ill-timed, improper, and did not necessarily represent the views of the Progressives.

Walter F. Brown was the only other person present on this not altogether happy occasion. He left Perkins's suite with me, and on our way to the elevator he tried to pour oil on the troubled waters by assuring me that, while Perkins had meant well, my point of view was well taken. He agreed that Perkins should not have given out a statement in which he assumed to speak for the Progressives when he had not consulted them.

At the St. Louis meeting of the Republican National Committee, as during the preceding campaign, my one effort was to effect a real amalgamation between the two elements that had once constituted the

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Republican party. I argued with individual committeemen in favor of my personal proposal that the Republican National Committee add to its number at least those Progressives whom Hughes himself had put on his Campaign Committee. Will H. Hays of Indiana thought that this would not be legal because the Republican National Convention had not authorized it. My reply to this was that subsequent ratification was as good as prior authorization and that there could be no doubt that the next Republican National Committee would ratify an act done in good faith in an effort to close the gap between the Republicans and the Progressives.

Upon some of the Republican National committeemen I made an impression. At least I thought that I did. If I had had any help at all from Perkins, something might have been accomplished, but he wasn't interested in the Progressives. He had used them as his lure at Chicago, and he wanted to be let alone to reap whatever reward might be due him for his Benedict Arnold bit of trading in the political market place.

So far as the Progressives of the country were concerned, those two or three of us who went to St. Louis, there, without voice or vote, graciously to be permitted to sit on the side lines to watch Boise Penrose put his Republican National Committee through its paces, might have spent our money to better advantage than by paying railroad fare and hotel expenses. To Penrose and his fellow standpatters Perkins was the Progressive party, and Perkins was a tamed political cat.

The betrayal at Chicago in 1916 reached its final, if anticlimactic, culmination in St. Louis in February of 1918. The Progressive party, representing one of the most unselfish and idealistic movements in American history, there came ingloriously to its final end. Thereafter, lonely and unhappy progressive spirits tried to make themselves feel at home either in the Republican or the Democratic ranks, or, perchance, they wandered back and forth between the two, waiting hopefully for that other day which was to come, twenty years later, when they would have another opportunity to tilt a lance for a real progressive leader—one, this time, who would not permit a George W. Perkins to betray them.

For, on the face of the record, how can it be disputed that the answer to the question raised in the title of this article is—George W. Perkins?

HAROLD L. ICKES.

Washington, D. C.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Norman Communes Once More

1189-1223

More than ten years ago the present writer evolved a theory as to the origin and nature of the Norman communes under Richard and John and published it in the *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History* by students of Charles Homer Haskins.[1] The gist of that theory was that all our evidence, certainly in the years 1189 to 1204, points to the origin of the Norman communes in economic factors and that all our knowledge of their institutional machinery stresses their financial aspects almost to the exclusion of the feudal and the military. This was sharply opposed, of course, to the traditional view that the commune was a feudal unit, a collective seignory, and that its charter was granted for a *quid pro quo* of feudal services, primarily military. This military theory had behind it the weighty authority of Giry and Luchaire and is still to be met with even in the most recent scholarly work.[2]

The critics were kind but not unanimous. Professor Powicke, in England, felt that I had more than proved my point.[3] Professor Halphen, in France, seemed convinced.[4] Professor Strayer, on this side of the Atlantic, who had been obliged to go over my work carefully in the course of his own researches, accepted my conclusions.[5] But French and Norman scholars of equal or perhaps greater authority were of a different mind. The late Professor Génestal expressed his doubts in the

[1] Charles H. Taylor and John L. La Monte, eds. (Boston, 1929), pp. 231-54, "The Norman Communes under Richard and John, 1189-1204".

[2] A. Giry, *Les établissements de Rouen* (Paris, 1883-85), I, 47. Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises, période de Capétiens directs* (Paris, 1892), pp. 245, 420; *id., Les communes françaises à l'époque des Capétiens directs,* Louis Halphen, ed. (Paris, 1911), pp. 228-29, 279-80. R. Génestal, *L'histoire du droit public normand* (Caen, 1928), p. 24; Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *La monarchie féodale* (Paris, 1933), p. 194; *id., L'essor des états d'occident* (Paris, 1937), pp. 4, 7-8, 43, 49; E. Chénon, "De la personnalité juridique des villes de commune d'après le droit français du xiii^e^ siècle", *Revue d'histoire du droit,* IV (1923), 351-66.

[3] *English Historical Review,* XLV (1930), 643; *cf.* F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy* (Manchester, 1913), p. 313.

[4] *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes,* XCII (1931), 171.

[5] Joseph Reese Strayer, *The Administration of Normandy under Saint Louis* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 84-85.

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pages of *Normannia*[6] and was good enough to write me directly in greater detail but in the same vein. Dr. Petit-Dutaillis indicated some doubt in 1933 in his *La monarchie féodale* and considerably more in 1937 in his *L'essor des états d'occident*.[7] At Guernesey in 1938, at the annual *Semaine de droit normand* and immediately following my paper on "Les communes normandes au temps de Philippe-Auguste",[8] he expressed himself verbally, politely but firmly, as completely unconvinced.

Further study since 1929, involving much new material and a careful rereading of the old, has left me of the same opinion still.[9] During this decade additional aid and comfort have been forthcoming from other scholars.[10] Professor Carl Stephenson in 1933, in his *Borough and Town*, profoundly disturbed many previously established views concerning the origin and nature of medieval towns.[11] He has made obsolete the exclusively legal and feudal interpretation of the early history of the medieval town and has established in its place an interpretation which is primarily economic and social.[12] He took some of his material from Norman history, and he considers my own published doubts regarding the older theories as sound but timid.[13] Professor Tait, in England, though sharply critical of much of Stephenson's work in detail, supported many of his main conclusions three years later in his *Medieval English Borough*.[14] The recent and excellent work of Dr. Elizabeth Chapin, *Les villes de foires de Champagne*, dealing with a

[6] III (1930), 737.

[7] *La monarchie féodale*, p. 193 and *passim* (*cf.* p. 170); *L'essor des états*, p. 8 and *passim*.

[8] *Travaux de la semaine d'histoire du droit normand tenue à Guernesey du 8 au 13 juin 1938* (Caen, 1939), pp. 433-52.

[9] For the opportunity of further research in connection with Norman institutions in general in this period, both in the archives at Paris and in those throughout Normandy, I am indebted to a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship in 1929-30 and to a leave of absence from Smith College during the same year.

[10] A long bibliographical note which I have written but cannot include in this article contains at least twenty-five items of some importance printed since 1930.

[11] See also the various articles which preceded this volume, especially "The French Commune and the English Borough", *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (1932), 451 ff. and "Les 'aides' des villes françaises aux xii^e^ et xiii^e^ siècles", *Moyen Age*, XXXIII (1922), 274-328. Stephenson leans heavily upon the work of the late Professor Henri Pirenne; *cf. Cambridge Medieval History*, VI (Cambridge, 1929), 518-19.

[12] *Cf.* Gaillard Lapsley, "Some Recent Advance in English Constitutional History (before 1485)", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, V, no. 2 (1936), 119 ff., especially 159.

[13] *Borough and Town* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 46, 219, and *passim*.

[14] (Manchester, 1936). See review of both books by Professor S. K. Mitchell, *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 256-59, especially 257.

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somewhat different area, likewise stresses the economic factors in the history of the medieval town to the virtual exclusion of the feudal and the legal.[15]

Despite the very great authority of Dr. Petit-Dutaillis, it would appear that the older view must be discarded. It should be pointed out, of course, that I have never denied *in toto* the presence of feudal and military factors in connection with the Norman communes but have merely stressed the greater relative importance of economic and financial forces. Fundamentally, however, I suppose that I stand with Pirenne and Stephenson against such as stand on the other side. I believe that the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries saw the development of towns, whether boroughs or communes, because of a great ground swell of economic development and that these towns, wherever situate, reflect these economic factors in their origin, growth, and organization. The town was most certainly a part of the feudal world and must have been greatly influenced by feudal ideas, but it was the economic and social revolution of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that produced the town; economic and social factors, not feudal and military, controlled its growth. To complete this profession of faith I may as well admit that I am not a lawyer and that the legal interpretation even of a legal or semilegal document seems to me only one of many and not inevitably the only one possible or desirable.

The positive Norman evidence for the feudal and military theory regarding the communes consists of a few writs from John's chancery which grant the communal status *ad defendendam terram,*[16] a single paragraph from the *Summa,*[17] one or two items in the *Scripta de feodis* drawn up by the scribes of Philip Augustus at about the time of the conquest,[18] and a few clauses in a handful of charters on both sides of

[15] (Paris, 1937), pp. xi, 138, 151, and *passim*. There is much other recent scholarship which points in the same direction: *e.g.*, R. Limouzin-Lamothe, *La commune de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1932), Paul Rolland, *Les origines de la commune de Tournai* (Brussels, 1931), and the numerous articles in Norman learned periodicals by Mlle. S. Deck, M. Le Parquier, and others. Moreover, Strayer and Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation* (Cambridge, 1939), though dealing with a later period (1285-1319), stress the economic as against the military value of the towns. See below, note 35.

[16] Thomas Duffus Hardy, ed., *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium* (London, 1835), I, 13*b* (Fécamp), 14 (Montivilliers and Harfleur); *ibid.*, 24*b*, 25*b*, 26 (Falaise, Auffay, and Domfront).

[17] E.-J. Tardif, ed., *Coutumiers de Normandie* (Paris, 1881-1903), II, 68-69 (*Summa de legibus,* XXII *bis,* 1).

[18] M. Bouquet *et al.*, eds., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1738-1904), XXIII, 684, 722-23 (cited hereafter as *H. F.*).

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the Channel in this period.[19] The writs are few in number, addressed for the most part to small communities, belong obviously to a period of emergency, and probably refer only to defense.[20] The requirement is for arms and supplies *ad defendendam terram,* not feudal service, a very different thing.[21] The writ granting a commune to Caen has neither the requirement of arms and supplies nor the *ad defendendam* clause.[22] The paragraph in the *Summa,* upon which Professor Génestal relied a good deal, was inserted in that document in the days of Philip III, according to its editor,[23] and may well have been much sounder in theory than in practice.[24] The items in the *Scripta de feodis,* upon which Dr. Petit-Dutaillis puts so much emphasis, are perhaps disturbing but hardly conclusive.[25] The only item which seems important lists only those Norman communes possessed of the Rouen *consuetudines,* as the record itself is at pains to state;[26] other references to Norman communes elsewhere in the document seem misplaced by any theory. Probably categorical statements will not really be in order until the items in this record which deal with the French communes in general are better understood.[27] The communes owed some military service, at least in theory, and they had to appear somewhere in a record of this type. The lawyers of the fourteenth century, in their attempts to make the feudal system systematic, probably did make the commune a feudal unit on parchment, and they may possibly have followed the example of the scribes of Philip Augustus in so doing. The charter evidence is also in-

[19] Below, notes 51-56.

[20] *Cf.* the writs cited above from the *Rot. Litt. Pat.* and the actual activities of Rouen in 1202 as seen in Paul Meyer, ed., *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (Paris, 1891-1901), III, 167, on the one hand, with a charter of Philip Augustus which really specifies military service, *e.g.,* H.-François Delaborde, ed., *Recueil des actes de Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, 1916), I, No. 224 (Tournai, 1188), on the other.

[21] The close link between castle and commune, especially in Normandy, may yet yield something in the interpretation of the commune: *cf. Cam. Med. Hist.,* VI, 524; Powicke, *Loss of Normandy,* pp. 299-300; see also Thomas Stapleton, ed., *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae* (London, 1840-44), *passim* but particularly I, 84, and II, 414, 419, 501, and *Rot. Litt. Pat., passim.*

[22] *Rot. Litt. Pat.,* I, 31.

[23] Tardif, II, cxcviii: *cf. Summa,* XLIII, 4.

[24] Professor Henri Legras suggested, long ago, that the *Summa* did not always apply in fact (*Le bourgage de Caen,* Paris, 1911, pp. 80-81).

[25] *Cf.* L. Delisle, ed., *Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, Saint Louis, et Philippe-le-Hardi* (Caen, 1852), No. 27 (1194), where *in civitatibus, in castellis, et in villis* seems to cover everything, with *H. F.,* XXIII, 684, and *passim,* where the scribes of Philip Augustus attempt to list *civitates, communia, castella,* and *villae* separately.

[26] *H. F.,* XXIII, 684.

[27] *Cf.* Strayer, *Administration of Normandy,* p. 60 and *passim.*

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sufficient and points mostly the other way.[28] At least one student feels that the most convincing evidence for the feudal theory, for those who still accept it, is partly the baronial analogy of favors granted for services rendered, partly the undoubted feudal atmosphere of the period, and partly the Luchaire-Giry tradition itself, supported as it is by really great names and long usage.[29].

On the other hand, much more can be said in support of my own theory than I said in 1929.[30] Some of the Norman communes were apparently liabilities on the military side.[31] The fact that the communes were not used with success or perhaps at all in the crucial days of the duchy still stands. The comparative or in some cases absolute silence of thirteenth century records, Norman or French, on the military and feudal problems of the Norman communes is still well-nigh incredible if those problems were of any importance at all.[32] Evidence from areas as remote from each other and from Normandy as Gascony and Syria seems to prove that feudal knights were still essential for real military operations.[33] The communes were perhaps able to pay for such services;

[28] The charters do not say very much about military service, usually put sharp restrictions upon it, and almost never stress the military factor. The only real exception to this general statement in the whole first volume of Delaborde's edition of the acts of Philip Augustus (to 1194 only), No. 224 (Tournai), seems to prove the rule; *cf. H. F.*, XXIII, 684, where Tournai alone has the additional entry, *tria servicia*. A final estimate of the charter evidence in regard to the communes in the time of Philip Augustus must wait at least until the appearance of the last volume of Delaborde's *Actes de Philippe-Auguste*; the second and third (final) volumes are promised soon under the able editorship of Dr. Petit-Dutaillis.

[29] The best description of the evolution and prestige of the Luchaire-Giry tradition, together with the sharpest critical comment, is to be found in Stephenson, *Borough and Town*, pp. 215-19; *cf.* Ferdinand Lot, *Revue historique*, CXII (1913), 145; Tait, p. 159 and note; also my article in the *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, p. 234 and note.

[30] I shall make no effort to add material in support of my contention that the communes were financially valuable to those who had the authority to grant them privileges; see *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, p. 241 and n. 40 below. Two additional authorities, however, might have been cited earlier in this connection: H. W. C. Davis, "The English Borough", *Quarterly Review*, CCVIII (1908), 54 ff.; Earle Wilbur Dow, "Some French Communes, in the Light of their Charters", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1903), 641 ff.

[31] *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 10*b* (Rouen); Stapleton, II, 419, 550 (Eu); Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Le premier budget de la monarchie française* (Paris, 1932), p. clx, 1 (Gournai).

[32] Neither L. Delisle, *Recueil de jugements de l'échiquier* (Paris, 1864) nor Le Comte Beugnot, *Les Olim* (Paris, 1839-48), I, *passim*, yields very much. Delisle, *Jugements*, No. 376 (1224), may be an exception but stresses tallage far more than *equitationem* and *exercitum*.

[33] Frank Burr Marsh, *English Rule in Gascony, 1199-1259* (Ann Arbor, 1912), pp. 2-4; Marcel Gouron, *L'amirauté de Guienne* (Paris, 1938), p. 57; La Monte, "The Communal Movement in Syria in the Thirteenth Century", *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, p. 117.

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they certainly never rendered these services themselves to anybody. Evidence from across the Channel (London)[34] and from later in the century (Philip IV)[35] would seem to bear me out. The charters do not stress military service; frequently they actually restrict such services very sharply.[36] The communes did owe military services of some kind, but much of our evidence for that fact comes from instances in which they did not render such services but paid a fine instead, or failed even to do that, sometimes in the case of castle-guard, a service which even the communes might be presumed to have been able to render.[37] Upon some occasions at least the military services of the commune, due and rendered, constituted a mere formality.[38]

Moreover, the suggestion made in 1929 that the communal idea had pervaded much of the Norman world of the late twelfth century may now be transformed into a categorical statement. So many communities, after all, may be shown to have accounted as groups at the exchequer,[39] possessed mayors or other elected officials,[40] confirmed private contracts under the authority of the group,[41] and to have taken over in whole or in part the responsibilities of their lords,[42] without having been com-

[34] Stephenson, "The Aids of the English Borough", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV (1919), 465.

[35] E. Perrot, "Quels renseignements fournissent les Olim sur la condition des villes?", pp. 8-9, published in *Agrégation des Facultés de droit, Section d'histoire du droit*, 14 Oct. (Paris, 1910); also Strayer and Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation*, pp. 44, 57, 119, 120, 126, 161.

[36] E. Audouin, "Les chartes communales de Poitiers et les établissements de Rouen", in *Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1912, nos. 1, 2, pp. 125-58, and *passim;* Delaborde, I, Nos. 233 (6) (Pontoise), 224 (Tournai) an apparent exception to the rule; *H. F.*, XXIII, 754 (Rouen); Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, p. 314.

[37] Stapleton, II, 292, 306, 384, 495-96, and *passim;* Chénon, *Rev. Hist. Droit*, IV, 360-61; Stephenson, *Moyen Age*, XXXIII, 293; Strayer and Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation*, pp. 119, 120, 161.

[38] Stapleton, II, 445 (Fécamp).

[39] Delisle, No. 630; J. H. Round, ed., *Calendar of Documents preserved in France* (London, 1899), No. 11. We have a good deal of evidence for the election of parish officials and for the activities of the parish as a group: J. Guillaume, *Recherches sur l'organisation et l'administration religieuses des paroisses en Normandie* (École des chartes: Thèse, 1890); R. Le Picard, "Les trésoriers des églises normandes du xiii^e^ au xvi^e^ siècles", in *Travaux de la semaine*, pp. 409-24; J. H. Le Patourel, *The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands, 1199-1399* (London, 1937), p. 100.

[40] Le Picard, *Travaux de la semaine*, pp. 410, 413; for the election of two *pontenarii* by a village in 1189, see Bibliothèque nationale, MSS. Lat. n. a. 1244, f. 61.

[41] *E.g.*, Cherbourg: Archives of the Manche, H 2407, H 2442, H 2445, H 2448, H 3360.

[42] Stephenson, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII, 462; *Cam. Med. Hist.*, V, 650 ff., VI, 522; Stapleton, II, 532, 536.

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munes at all. The commune was in the air.[43] Richard and John, and Philip Augustus himself, followed the trend. The commune was undoubtedly essentially the sworn oath by which its members engaged themselves in a common enterprise, duly recognized by constituted authority.[44] Logically, however, the common enterprise must have been on foot before the members of the commune would risk the oath, and we have evidence that this was the case.[45] Hence the king or duke created nothing; he merely gave formal recognition to a *fait accompli*.[46] It is difficult if not impossible to prove that the ruler granted a commune to one group and not to another for military or feudal reasons. Yet he would not make the grant at all except in his own interest. Even Dr. Petit-Dutaillis admits that John granted these charters for hard cash in England.[47] Professor Strayer finds the Norman communes paying large sums to be relieved of military services.[48] There was undoubtedly more of the feudal in Normandy than in England,[49] but it seems clear that economic motives were paramount in both areas.[50]

[43] *Cam. Med. Hist.*, V, 650; Tait, pp. 346-47.

[44] Petit-Dutaillis, "La concession de commune en France", in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1936), pp. 97 ff., *passim: cf.* Chénon, *Rev. Hist. Droit*, IV, 351-66, *passim*. The communal oath is stressed far less in both Stephenson, *Borough and Town*, p. 46, and N. Ottokar, "Le rôle de la commune et de la charte communale dans l'histoire des villes françaises au moyen âge", *Rev. Hist. Droit*, IV, 422 ff.

[45] *E.g.*, Delaborde, I, No. 271.

[46] The following authors, at one time or another, have stressed the evolutionary process by which the commune was produced, as against a theory of revolution: Beugnot, Dow, Davis, Génestal, Le Cacheux, Lodge, Rolland, Stephenson, Weinbaum. *Cf.* Hardy, ed., *Rotuli Chartarum* (London, 1837), I, 3*b* (Spina), for charter granting *burgum* and market to the Templars: if this village had grown prosperous enough to make control of its own affairs important, had gained that control, and had sworn a mutual oath, then it would have traveled the normal pathway actually taken by the village which did in fact emerge as a commune. The permission to swear the oath would have been an essential but a final step; the preceding steps were at least equally fundamental.

[47] Petit-Dutaillis, *Monarchie féodale*, p. 170; *L'essor des états*, pp. 4, 44-45, 218. (On pages 230-31 he admits that Philip Augustus did it for money elsewhere.)

[48] Strayer, *Administration of Normandy*, pp. 85 ff.; see H. Prentout, *Les états provinciaux de Normandie* (Caen, 1925-27), I, 61 ff. See also Strayer and Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation*, pp. 44, 126.

[49] Petit-Dutaillis, *L'essor des états*, p. 218.

[50] The tallage evidence, if ever completely elucidated, may help us here. It may be that tallage is the only way in which the towns paid their military service in practice, yet tallage was voluntary in thirteenth century Rouen (Giry, II, 58). Military and maritime services were likewise voluntary but were rendered at Bordeaux in the same period (Gouron, p. 57). For tallage see my article in the *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, notes 63, 116, 121; Stephenson, *Moyen Age*, XXXIII, 278, 284; Stapleton, I, II, *passim;* Delaborde, I, Nos. 224, 279; see P. Elman, "Jewish Finance in the Thirteenth Century", as summarized in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XV (1938), 112-13.

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The communal charters, less important always than the existing privileges which made them possible and perhaps less important than most scholars have been willing to admit,[51] limit themselves mostly to matters of justice and finance and seem preoccupied with restrictions upon ducal interference of all kinds.[52] The military clauses sometimes do not exist,[53] frequently indicate a real scaling down of the normal obligations of a community on the feudal side,[54] practically always emphasize defense, and never suggest by wealth of detail the vital interest of at least one of the contracting parties which the clauses devoted to justice and finance seem to exude at every pore. The performance of Rouen in connection with the Foix campaign later in the century is, after all, exactly what would be expected in view of the relative unimportance of military matters in the *Établissements de Rouen*.[55] One suspects that Philip Augustus had to be very specific indeed in a charter if he desired real military assistance from a commune.[56]

The suggestion was also made in 1929 that John perhaps inherited some of the administrative skill of his father and used the commune as a last and perhaps desperate device for increasing his funds in the face of declining manorial and feudal units.[57] The commune, in other words, played a role similar to that of the *bailli* or to that of the itinerant justice in the dramatic conflict of ducal centralized power with feudal

[51] See especially Ottokar, *Rev. Hist. Droit*, IV, 422 ff. This is a résumé of his book on the same general subject, *Essais sur la ville française au moyen âge* (Perm, 1919), in which he attacks French scholarship for having stressed charters too much and the whole communal movement as well in its estimate of the constitutional history of the French medieval town. He takes as examples, Cambrai, Beauvais, Soissons, and Senlis, very effectively.

[52] See P. Le Cacheux, *Les privilèges des bourgeois de Pontorson* (S. Lô, 1914), p. 11, for some curious examples (townsmen not to be summoned by a royal officer after sundown, when they were at table, in the bath, or while being bled).

[53] Delaborde, I, Nos. 234 (Poissy), 408 (Hesdin); Delisle, p. xv (Andeli).

[54] *E.g.*, Andeli (*Rot. Chart.* 65*b*), which owed in 1200 only such services as would allow the return of members of the town to their own homes on the same day; see also Delaborde, I, Nos. 279 (28), 280; Stephenson, *Borough and Town*, 32-33; Chapin, p. 149 and *passim*; Chénon, *Histoire générale du droit français public et privé* (Paris, 1926), II, 37; Le Patourel, p. 73.

[55] *H. F.*, XXIII, 754. The Rouen representative responded to the summons but merely stated that Rouen was not obliged to serve at a greater distance than could be managed in one day; *cf.* Strayer, *Administration of Normandy*, p. 85.

[56] See Delaborde, I, No. 224 (Tournai), with the unique entry in the *Scripta de feodis*, *H. F.*, XXIII, 684 (*tria servicia*).

[57] *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, p. 244; also Sidney R. Packard, *Europe and the Church under Innocent III* (New York, 1927), pp. 56-70; *cf. Cam. Med. Hist.*, V, 642; Limouzin-Lamothe, p. 214.

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prerogative. It gave the duke better control and more revenue.[58] Recent scholarship devoted to English constitutional history has made even more vivid the role of John against feudalism.[59] Other students have noticed the commune of all England which John projected in 1205 and have reflected, as I did in 1929, upon its meaning in terms of finance.[60] John (and the same thing is true of Philip Augustus) certainly used the communal principle for his own financial advantage. That he used it for anything else in many instances or ever for anything else with success has yet to be demonstrated.

It seems hardly possible to speak with final authority,[61] but certain things seem at least relatively sure. Norman towns at all stages of development from the village to the commune may be seen in the records of this period. They all seem to desire primarily the recognition of some kind of autonomy in justice and in finance; many of them do in actual fact proceed via burgage tenure, elected magistrates, etc., to that end. The communal oath was perhaps the final and the crucial stage in this progress. Its purpose was undoubtedly to regularize and to make secure a status which the authorities could no longer deny in fact. The communes possessed privileges, usurped, evolved, or granted, which they wished to define and to defend; the duke had already lost the privileges which he conceded but wished to retain what he could of the potential wealth of the urban area involved.[62] There is no doubt that the duke was fully conscious of the very considerable value of this wealth. The interest of the duke may have been military at an earlier period,[63] and it may well have been military at any time in specific instances,[64] but the

[58] It is at least possible that the Norman duke saw sufficient advantage in the commune merely in control over merchants in the town, control over scattered miscellaneous revenues which tended to elude his grasp, and in help in the fortification of the nearby castle by means of tallage properly assessed and effectively collected. *Cf.* Delaborde, I, No. 234 (Poissy), c. 13 ("Concedimus etiam ut communia in his que tenet de nobis suum faciat excrementum, quibuscumque modis juste et rationabiliter facere poterit.").

[59] Tait, p. 352; Petit-Dutaillis, *L'essor des états,* p. 43; *Cam. Med. Hist.,* VI, 228; *cf.* H. S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor* (Cambridge, 1937). The major support comes from J. E. A. Jolliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England* (London, 1937), pp. 307, 322-23, 326.

[60] *Haskins Anniversary Essays,* p. 244 and n.; Tait, p. 256; Jolliffe, p. 326.

[61] Certainly not until the Delaborde edition of the charters of Philip Augustus, mentioned above (n. 28), has been completed.

[62] Stephenson, *Borough and Town,* p. 31; Hardy, ed., *Rotuli Normanniae* (London, 1835), p. 16 (Caen); Legras, pp. 58-59; Delaborde, I, Nos. 234 (c. 13), 236 (c. 3).

[63] Round, Nos. 57, 109, 111, 112 (Rouen).

[64] See above, notes 16 and 18.

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writer believes this interest to have been economic in practically all cases by the end of the twelfth century.[65]

The evidence of the thirteenth century tells the same story.[66] Philip Augustus used the communes effectively in the conquest of the duchy,[67] but hardly as military units, inquired carefully into all vested rights including the communal, and yet made not a single reference to military affairs in the crucial confirmation of the Rouen commune in 1207.[68] He seems in fact to have been always preoccupied with financial considerations in his few recorded dealings with the Norman communes, especially in the period of relative security in the years following 1210.[69] We have every reason to believe that the French crown watched its financial rights in the Norman communes very carefully indeed throughout the whole thirteenth century.[70] Both Dr. Petit-Dutaillis and Professor Strayer find the communes turning huge sums into the royal exchequer in the course of the century.[71] The only communal entries in the *Querimoniae Normannorum* are financial in character.[72] As is well known, it was the financial weakness of the communes throughout France which brought their eventual collapse at the turn of the century and thereafter.[73]

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[65] For financial records of the towns see Stapleton, I, 69, 156, and *passim*, II, 305-306, and *passim*; also Delisle, Nos. 569, 647-51; *cf.* Chapin, pp. 210 ff.

[66] The relations between Philip Augustus and the Norman communes is really another story and will be dealt with in more detail upon another occasion.

[67] Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, *passim*; Delisle, Nos. 77, 1071, and *passim*; Packard, *Travaux de la semaine*, pp. 433-52, especially pp. 443-51.

[68] Giry, I, 32-33, II, 56 ff. (with possible exception of c. 5, which states that a debtor may not be seized who is on his way to the army); *cf.* Powicke, *Loss of Normandy*, pp. 326 ff.

[69] Delisle, Nos. 96, 97, 103, 290-92, 322-23; see No. 1121 for advice given by Philip Augustus to his son never to alienate his castles, his Jews, or his townsmen.

[70] Philip Augustus took "pecuniam multam et multa donaria" in the process of confirming the Rouen privileges in 1207: A. Chéruel, *Histoire de Rouen pendant l'époque communale, 1150-1382* (Rouen, 1843-44), I, 100-101; see also Delisle, Nos. 186, 317, 330, and (for Louis VIII) 316.

[71] Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII* (Paris, 1894), p. 382; Strayer, *Administration of Normandy*, pp. 85 ff. See also Strayer and Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation*, pp. 44, 57, 119, 120, 126, 161.

[72] *H. F.*, XXIV, 1 ff., Nos. 19, 45, 250, 253, 342, 544, and possibly Nos. 439 and 470.

[73] Luchaire, *Les communes françaises*, pp. 190-91; *Cam. Med. Hist.*, VI, 322-23; Strayer, *Administration of Normandy*, p. 90; Chénon, *Rev. Hist. Droit*, IV, 361, 363.

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DOCUMENTS

An American Plan for a Canadian Campaign

Secretary James Monroe to Major General Jacob Brown, February, 1815[1]

The primary causes of the humiliating failure of the three American campaigns against Canada during the years 1812-14 were clear even to contemporaries. A few weeks after the return of peace, Sir James Yeo, who had commanded the British naval forces on the Great Lakes since 1813, summed the matter up in terms which, while unflattering to his late opponents, are nevertheless unexceptionable as a statement of the facts:

> The experience of two years active service has served to convince me that tho' much has been done by the mutual exertions of *both Services,* we also owe as much if not more to the perverse stupidity of the Enemy; the Impolicy of their plans; the disunion of their Commanders, and, lastly, between *them* and their *Minister of War.*[2]

Yeo considered the "impolicy" of the Americans' strategy to have consisted mainly in their apparent failure to realize the paramount importance of the St. Lawrence communication and to strike a severing blow at this "life-line", upon the integrity of which the defense of Canada west of Montreal entirely depended. From England came almost everything that made Canadian defense possible—the arms and munitions, the red-coated regiments, the fittings of the lake vessels, the seamen to man them; and from Montreal they passed to Upper Canada by the great river or by the primitive roads along its banks. There was no alternative means of communication, and the interruption of this line would necessarily cause the whole of Upper Canada west of the point of severance to fall into American hands.

Though one might expect these facts to be obvious to anyone after a glance at the map of North America, little appreciation of them is apparent in the American campaign plans of 1812-14. Far from con-

[1] The document here presented was discovered in the course of investigation connected with a study of armaments upon which the writer is engaged as a contribution to the series, The Relations of Canada and the United States, now in progress under the auspices of the Division of Economics and History, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

[2] Yeo to Viscount Melville, May 30, 1815, Public Archives of Canada, M.389,6 (Admiralty Papers; Naval Correspondence, Yeo to Croker, 1813-1815. Transcripts), pp. 307-12.

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centrating every available man against the eastern section of the long Canadian line of communication, the American strategists frittered away their resources in ill-conceived enterprises in the west which, even if successful, could have had little positive result. At the end of the 1814 campaign, in consequence, the United States government was faced with the fact that in three seasons of offensive warfare it had failed to make any real impression upon British strength in Canada. In view of the nature of the demands which Britain had presented to the American negotiators at Ghent, the continuance of the war through 1815 seemed decidedly probable, and it remained to be seen whether in that event the American forces on the northern border would be employed to better purpose than in the preceding years.

As things turned out, of course, the arrival from Europe of the text of the treaty which had been signed on Christmas Eve of 1814 abruptly ended all warlike preparations and relegated strategical discussions to the realm of fantasy, and the value of the experience gleaned by American statesmen and soldiers from three years of trial and error was thus never demonstrated in practice. Nevertheless, it is possible to say with some conviction that before the good news from Ghent arrived the Administration had learned its lesson, for the confidential Letter Book of the Secretary of War contains evidence that in February, 1815, a campaign plan was prepared at Washington which avoided the worst mistakes of earlier seasons and which, had it been adopted (and persevered in) in the beginning, might have altered the result very materially.

James Monroe had been in temporary charge of the War Department for a time in 1812-13 and had taken special interest in the plans for action against Canada. When the humiliation of the capture of Washington blew General Armstrong out of office, Monroe again became Acting Secretary of War, and he was appointed to full formal charge of the department, at his own earnest request, on September 26, 1814. He then wrote:

> I have been twice brought into it by circumstances, by temporary arrangement, in consequence, I presume, of a prevailing opinion, that I might discharge its duties to the satisfaction of the public. I made the arrangements for the campaign [of] 1813, and had I continued in the Dept., would have conducted it, on different principles from those observed by General Armstrong. I must now lay the foundation for the next campaign, and if another takes the Dept. there is no certainty that he will follow the plan which will be in contemplation.[3]

[3] Monroe to Madison, Sept. 25, 1814, *The Writings of James Monroe,* ed. by Stanislaus Murray Hamilton (7 vols., New York, 1898-1903), V, 293-95. *Cf. The Writings of*

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It seems clear that Monroe had some confidence in himself as a strategist and that he was decidedly anxious for an opportunity of restoring the fortunes of American arms on the Canadian border. His predilection for a determined enterprise there appeared in a communication which he addressed to the Military Committee of the Senate on October 17. "By pushing the war into Canada", he told the senators, "we secure the friendship of the Indian tribes, and command their services, otherwise to be turned by the enemy against us; we relieve the coast from the desolation which is intended for it, and we keep in our hands a safe pledge for an honorable peace."[4]

While the new Secretary of War was evolving in his own mind the conception of a new and more effectual offensive campaign, one of the country's ablest and most aggressive soldiers, Jacob Brown, the only American major general who had emerged from the Canadian operations with an enhanced reputation, was apparently similarly engaged. On December 19 he wrote a private letter to Monroe, asking permission to visit Washington in order to confer with him and with the President "before the opening of the next Campaign".[5] The Secretary warmly encouraged the idea, and Brown, after a leisurely journey from Sackett's Harbor, reached Washington on February 6.[6] By that time, it appears, Monroe, lately returned to his duties after a severe illness, had already drafted the plan for the spring campaign, for on February 4 he had written to Governor Tompkins of New York describing the scheme and asking for "not less than 20,000" militia to assist in executing it.[7] When Brown left for the North on February 11[8] he presumably carried with him Monroe's letter laying down the general scheme of operations, which is published herewith. That the plan was Monroe's own is further indicated by comparison of this letter with his manuscript memorandum

James Madison, ed. by Gaillard Hunt (9 vols., New York, 1900-10), VIII, 312-13, n. It will be recalled that Monroe had more than once signified his willingness to take the actual military command on the northern border. See in addition to the letter just quoted that written to Madison on February 25, 1813 (*Writings of Monroe*, V, 244-50).

[4] *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, I, 515.

[5] Jacob Brown Official Letter Book No. 1, pp. 283-84, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

[6] Monroe to Brown, Jan. 2, 1815, *ibid.*, pp. 300-301; *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington), Feb. 8, 1815.

[7] *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1815; Secretary of War's Letter Books, vol. 309, pp. 43-46, formerly in the Old Records Division of the Adjutant General's Office in the War Department at Washington but now in the National Archives. This volume was formerly labeled "Confidential. War Office" and is now entitled "Confidential Letters".

[8] *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 13, 1815.

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concerning the campaign plan of 1813, in which many of the same ideas appear—notably the two possible routes of invasion, the collection of supplies to be available on either or both, and the apparent hesitation between them.[9]

The superiority of the new scheme over those which had formed the bases of the actual operations of earlier years consisted primarily in the fashion in which it subordinated all other considerations to the need for a destructive concentration of force against the east end of the long British line of communications. There was to be no further waste of regular troops on operations on the Detroit or the Niagara; the forces there were evidently to consist almost exclusively of militia supplied by the neighboring states, and every possible regular was to be moved towards the St. Lawrence. Thus at long last the United States was adopting the strategic system which common sense should have dictated from the beginning.

The greatest weakness of Monroe's scheme is the hesitancy which it displays in deciding between the Sackett's Harbor and the Plattsburg lines of operation. The military history of the region, and especially, one would think, that of the year 1813, might have counseled the definite adoption of the latter. One's doubts are not lessened by Monroe's remark concerning the probability of there being "important use for transportation on both routes"; this hint at another combined scheme of operations is not promising. Monroe seems to have been unwilling to abandon his ideas of 1813, and his perhaps too-simple faith in strategic expedients improvised at short notice and his apparently inadequate sense of the difficulty of concerting combined operations in a region of primitive communications seem to smack strongly of the amateur strategist. The further rather curious fact that none of his military letters or memoranda, at this time or earlier, appear to make specific mention of the function of the St. Lawrence as a British line of communication, makes one still more chary of rating Monroe's strategic acumen too high.

An additional feature of the plan, however, goes far to nullify these objections. It is pretty clear that General Brown was to be entrusted with its execution and that he was to have undisputed command of all operations against the St. Lawrence. On the day before Brown left Washington, Monroe wrote to General Macomb informing him that

[9] Monroe Papers, Library of Congress (published in *Writings of Monroe*, V, 235-37). This paper is undated, but the last sentence, apparently an addition, contains a clear reference to the military statute of January 29, 1813.

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Brown's command would "extend to the north, so as to include the state of Vermont, and all our troops on Lake Champlain".[10] It would seem probable that, within the rather broad limits laid down in Monroe's letter, Brown was to exercise complete authority and choose the actual line of operations. This impression may perhaps be strengthened by an observation in Monroe's memorandum of 1813: "The plan of the campaign must be formed by the general who commands the expedition. He alone can best decide at what point to make attacks, and where to make feints, if any ought to be made." Cynics, on the other hand, might recall that in 1813 Monroe himself aspired to the command of the northern army,[11] and suggest that he might not have found it easy to refrain from interference. Had Brown actually been left a completely free hand, it cannot be doubted that his aggressive and determined spirit would have done everything possible to render the scheme successful. It may be added that we know that his experiences in the region in 1813-14 had left him with a lively sense of the inadequacy of the existing communications along the St. Lawrence eastward from Lake Ontario.[12] This, combined with the pronounced views on the strategy of the Canadian border which he expressed in later years,[13] suggests a strong probability that in 1815 a campaign under his direction would have taken the form of a concentrated attack by the line of Lake Champlain.

Of such an attack's chances of success, it is of course impossible to speak with certainty, but it seems likely that in 1815 the adoption by the United States of a sound strategic plan would have come too late. The national treasury was empty, the New England states were so disaffected as to be on the verge of secession; it was not certain that the 30,000 volunteers and militia from New York and Vermont, without which Monroe regarded the enterprise as hopeless, could be obtained. Finally, the great moment of opportunity had passed, for the threatened provinces were now swarming with veteran British troops. In the Canadas alone, there were available about 29,500 trained soldiers of all ranks.[14] It may be remarked, however, that had the war in America

[10] Feb. 10, 1815, Secretary of War's Letter Books, vol. 309, p. 53.

[11] See above, note 3.

[12] Brown to Calhoun, Dec. 9, 1818, Brown Letter Book No. 2, pp. 131-35.

[13] See, *e.g.*, same to same, Sept. 15, 1819, *ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

[14] Return enclosed in Prevost to Bathurst, Nov. 8, 1814, Public Archives of Canada, series Q, vol. 128, part 2, pp. 425 ff. This total appears to include all permanently embodied units, imperial and local. The *Quebec Almanac*, 1815, lists thirty-six battalions of imperial and provincial regular infantry as stationed in the Canadas, and ten more, plus a

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continued, Britain would have been embarrassed by the renewal of hostilities in Europe after Napoleon's return from Elba, and the fashion in which the bulk of the forces in Canada were hastily withdrawn to meet the emergency of the Hundred Days suggests how serious the embarrassment might have been.[15]

In the actual event, General Brown had scarcely left Washington to return to his command (a journey in the course of which he was to confer with the governors of Pennsylvania, New York, and Vermont) when the news of peace arrived. Brown's merits were recognized by his being retained in service as one of the two major generals authorized by Congress (Jackson being the other), and he served the United States with distinction until his death, but he never took the field again.

The history of the campaign plan of 1815 does not, however, come wholly to an end with the conclusion of peace. The strategic conceptions which it embodied continued to dominate Brown's views and recur constantly in his letters as commander of the Northern Division (1815-21) and as commanding general of the Army (1821-28).[16] A favorite project of his was the construction on the American bank of the St. Lawrence of a fortress which in the event of another war would facilitate the severance of the great British artery.[17] This idea came close to realization in 1816 but was never actually carried out.[18] It is interesting likewise to observe that in 1817 Monroe, who had now become President, himself made a tour of inspection of the northern frontier defenses, of which one result was the commencement of two military roads to the St. Lawrence—one running west from Plattsburg, the other east from Sackett's Harbor.[19] This work was carried on by military

detachment of another, in the Maritime Provinces, Maine, and Bermuda. In 1812 there had been seven battalions in Canada and five in the Maritimes.

[15] No less than twenty-one battalions were ordered back from Canada in March, 1815. Bathurst to Drummond, Mar. 19, Public Archives of Canada, series Q, vol. 136 A, p. 71.

[16] See, *e.g.*, his letter to Calhoun, Sept. 15, 1819, above, n. 13. *Cf.* same to same, Dec. 9, 1818 (Brown Letter Book No. 2, pp. 131-35).

[17] Brown to Crawford, Nov. 30, 1815 (Brown Letter Book No. 1, pp. 398-401).

[18] Crawford to Brown, Apr. 3, 1816; Brown to [Crawford], Apr. 27, 1816 (Brown Letter Book No. 2, pp. 9-10).

[19] See [S. P. Waldo], *A Narrative of a Tour of Observation made during the Summer of 1817, by James Monroe* (Philadelphia, 1818). See Brown to Calhoun, Dec. 9, 1818, as above, n. 12. The President's original plan was for a complete road connection between Plattsburg and Sackett's, but Brown recommended instead one road from Plattsburg to French Mills (Fort Covington, New York), as an avenue for offensive operations against the St. Lawrence line, and a second from Sackett's to the vicinity of Morristown, as a means of maintaining communication with his proposed fortress on the river.

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labor for several seasons thereafter, and numerous references in the correspondence of Brown with Calhoun, who was Monroe's Secretary of War, leave no doubt that these roads were intended to enable American forces, in the event of further conflict, to undertake offensive operations on a plan similar to that which had been projected for 1815.[20]

While the Americans thus prepared for the next war, improving their natural facilities for a blow at British power in Canada, British soldiers there were not idle. In 1814-15 the military chiefs in the provinces had felt great anxiety for the St. Lawrence communication, not merely on account of the danger of its interruption by American action but also because of its natural inadequacy for its function—a circumstance then emphasized by the difficulty of obtaining the labor necessary for moving up the rapids the increasing mass of supplies required by the ever-growing military and naval forces in Upper Canada.[21] In the course of the last winter of the war exploratory surveys were undertaken to determine the possibility of developing an alternative inland route between Montreal and Kingston (the naval station at the foot of Lake Ontario) by the Rideau Lakes and the Ottawa River.[22] The most definite lesson which British soldiers derived from the war was the imperative need for opening this route.

Before 1815 was out they had at their command a particularly telling argument. In the last weeks of hostilities Sir George Prevost had apparently suspected an American design against the St. Lawrence line.[23] Now information came to hand that left no doubt that such a scheme had been in contemplation. On July 29 Major General Sir Frederick Robinson, the general officer commanding in Upper Canada, wrote to Lord Bathurst as follows:

[20] "Report of the Secretary of War relative to Roads and Canals, in pursuance of a Resolution of the House of Representatives" (Jan. 7, 1819), *House Document,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., no. 87; Brown to Calhoun, Jan. 20, 1823 (Brown Letter Book No. 2, pp. 221-22). It is interesting to note that in 1840 a group of American officers, in a comprehensive report on the country's military problems, noted that Lake Champlain was "undoubtedly the avenue by which the British possessions may be most effectually assailed", and also revived Brown's scheme of a fort on the St. Lawrence (*Sen. Doc.,* 26 Cong., 1 sess., no. 451, pp. 98 ff.).

[21] See the report of Commissary General W. H. Robinson to Prevost, Nov. 14, 1814, *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812,* ed. by William Wood (3 vols. in 4, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1920-28), III, 503-506.

[22] Various reports on the subject, Public Archives of Canada, series C, vol. 38, pp. 97-119. It appears that the investigation was undertaken at the orders of Sir Gordon Drummond, in command in Upper Canada.

[23] Prevost to Bathurst, Jan. 30, 1815, Public Archives of Canada, series Q, vol. 131, pp. 24-25.

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Had the War continued it was the intention of the American Government to have interrupted our Transport Communication by the S[t] Lawrence to the Lower Province in the event of which an attempt at inland conveyance must have been made, or we must have endeavoured to dislodge the Enemy from the South Shore of the River by transferring the seat of War thither. The American General Brown, thinking secrecy no longer necessary explained to me all that had been in contemplation for the ensuing Campaign, which in my opinion would have answered their expectations.[24]

Bathurst was decidedly impressed. Informing the lieutenant governor of Upper Canada early in 1816 that "His Majesty's Government are most desirous that preparatory measures should be taken for the performance of this important Work", he applauded the steps already taken for settling "industrious and useful families" in the Rideau region and ordered the local government to advertise for the construction of the canal by contract.[25] This was done,[26] but without producing any tangible result.

In 1819 the Duke of Wellington turned his attention to Canadian defense and in a forceful memorandum addressed to Bathurst urged the importance of the Ottawa-Rideau project;[27] and in the same year work actually began, when the governor in chief (the Duke of Richmond) authorized the Royal Staff Corps to break ground at Grenville on the Ottawa.[28] The most important and costly leg of the project—that between the Ottawa and Lake Ontario—was postponed until after the report of the board of officers sent out at Wellington's instance, in 1825, to consider the defenses of British North America generally.[29] It was begun in 1826 and completed in 1832. The whole great scheme cost vastly more than had been anticipated in the beginning. In 1819 a sanguine officer had estimated the cost of improving the Ottawa at £16,740;[30] the commissioners of 1825 hoped that the Rideau link could be built for £169,000; but the total expenditure notified to parliament

[24] Extract in Public Archives of Canada, series G, vol. 58, p. 6.

[25] Bathurst to Gore, Jan. 8, 1816, *ibid.*, p. 4.

[26] See, *e.g.*, *Upper-Canada Gazette*, Feb. 27, 1817.

[27] Dated Mar. 1, 1819, *Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K.G., edited by his Son* (8 vols., London, 1867-80), I, 36-44.

[28] Richmond to Bathurst, Jan. 14, May 20, 1819, Public Archives of Canada, series C, vol. 1247, pp. 13, 29-31. Wellington's memorandum grew out of recommendations by Richmond.

[29] *Copy of a Report to His Grace the Duke of Wellington . . . relative to His Majesty's North American Provinces by a Commission of which M. General Sir James Carmichael Smyth was President* (lithographed copy in Toronto Reference Library, dated Sept. 9, 1825). On this report see James J. Talman, ed., "A Secret Military Document, 1825" (*American Historical Review*, XXXVIII, 295-300).

[30] Capt. J. F. Mann's report, Public Archives of Canada, series C, vol. 1247, pp. 14-19.

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in 1835, when the accounts for both enterprises were closed, was no less than £1,069,026.[31] The Ottawa-Rideau canals thus constitute by far the most costly and important military work ever undertaken by the British government in North America. This expenditure lavished upon the business of providing a substitute for the communication by the St. Lawrence is the best evidence of the soundness of the general strategic conception underlying Monroe's campaign plan of 1815.

The document below is transcribed from pages 53 to 58 of volume 309 of the series of Secretary of War's Letter Books formerly in the Old Records Division of the Adjutant General's Office in the War Department at Washington but now in the National Archives. This volume, formerly labeled "Confidential. War Office" and now entitled "Confidential Letters", was used for preserving copies of secret letters written by successive secretaries on a wide variety of subjects from 1814 to 1835. In addition to the letter presented herewith, it contains on the same topic the letters of Monroe to Tompkins and Macomb, referred to above, and also letters written by him to the governors of Pennsylvania and Vermont, introducing General Brown and requesting their assistance in collecting forces for the projected campaign.

C. P. Stacey.

Princeton University.

Monroe's Letter

Department of War, February 10th 1815.

Major Genl Brown.

Sir,

Having had much personal communication with you, relative to the operations of the next campaign, there remains little to be said in this letter, more than to give a general outline of the preparatory measures which it is necessary to adopt, to give effect to the plan which it is intended to pursue.

The great object to be attained, is to carry the war into Canada, and to break the British power there, to the utmost practicable extent. After making due allowance for the number of British forces, for the difficulties attending the passage of the St Lawrence, and the immature state of our preparations, I think that we may enter Canada, and gain a decided superiority this next

[31] *Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons,* 1835, vol. XXXVIII, no. 144 (Miscellaneous Services estimates). The total may include the comparatively small contributions made by the imperial government to the cost of the Lachine and Welland canals. In saying that "little or nothing" had been done as a result of the 1825 project, Lord Stanley in 1844 was not perhaps strictly accurate; but the inflated cost of the Rideau scheme made the government unwilling to proceed with the rest of the commission's recommendations (Paul Knaplund, ed., "The Armaments on the Great Lakes, 1844", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 473-78). On the recommendations and their results generally see the present writer's *Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871* (London, 1936), pp. 14-15.

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campaign. To what extent it may be carried, is uncertain, as it will depend on many circumstances, of which we can form no estimate at this time. It seems probable, however, that if we secure the landing of a great force, and beat them completely in the field at any point between Kingston and Montreal, or wherever we may select, we shall be able to drive them into Quebec.

The formation and collection of this force, is the first thing to be attended to, on our part. On that, our success must altogether depend. If we fail to raise a force which will put the result beyond hazard, so far as certainty is attainable, we ought not to make the attempt, but rest satisfied with making a defensive, inglorious war for the nation, however honorable it may be for the gallant officers who conduct and may be employed in it.

It is believed, that the British commander cannot bring into the field, between the points above mentioned, an army of more than 20,000 regular troops, and 10,000 militia; and that to do this, he must weaken his posts above and below those points. I am satisfied, that this is an high estimate of the British force now there. If we can form an army of 40,000 men, to bear on that district of country, of which 15,000 are regular troops, and the residue volunteers organized as regular troops, and militia, we must beat their main army.

At every other point above Kingston, our superiority may be whatever we choose to make it; and altho' it will [not] consist principally, or in any considerable force of regular troops, it will be of a character to press the enemy, interrupt his supplies, fight and demolish him.

There are two routes by which we may enter Canada, one by passing the S[t] Lawrence at some point between Kingston and Montreal, the other by lake Champlain. The force relied on, in aid of the regular troops, must be raised principally in the states of New-York and Vermont. Other aid may be drawn to a certain extent, from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the western parts of Virginia, if necessary, and perhaps from some of the more eastern states; but our chief dependence will be, on New-York and Vermont.

It is proposed to raise in these two states for this service, 30,000 men, 20,000 of which, in New-York, and 10,000, in Vermont. The state of New-York has already passed an act for raising 12,000 state troops: of these, if raised, a considerable part may be applied to this service. The rest must be collected, if possible, under a late act of Congress, authorising the President to accept the service of volunteer corps. As many volunteers must also be raised in Vermont, as possible. The deficiency, if any, in both states, must be supplied from the militia. . . .

After placing as many troops as may be proper on lake Champlain, and near Sackett's harbour, the two routes leading to Canada, it will be proper to establish a camp at some place in the rear of the mountains which separate those routes, either at Greenbush,[32] Johnston,[33] or some other point. At this latter station, the troops, now to be formed, may be collected with advantage, in many respects. They will be supplied with provisions there with great facility. While there, the enemy will be held in suspense as to the route they mean to take, and finally, they may be moved by surprize, on either route, as may be most advisable.[34]

[32] On the east bank of the Hudson, opposite Albany.

[33] Johnstown, in the Mohawk valley (Fulton County, New York).

[34] At this point the letter, as first copied into the letter book, ended, but the signature is erased, and the text continues.

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If we succeed in the invasion of Canada, we take the war from our seaboard at once. It is only by making a defensive war there, that we enable the enemy to detach troops here. I shall not, however, dwell on the subject, in this view.

Your attention will necessarily be drawn to the provision which ought to be made of ordnance, arms, and munitions of war, of every kind, and likewise, to the means of transportation on whatever route our troops may be led. Preparations for the latter purpose, often serve to amuse the enemy, and mask from him the true object. It is however probable, that we may have important use for transportation on both routes.

In promoting the organization of the volunteer corps in Vermont, to raise the force contemplated, which ought not to be less than 10,000, this species of force ought to be preferred. Too much care cannot be taken in the selection of the field officers or of the company officers of each corps. It may be useful for you to fix on some highly meritorious character in that state, and recommend [him] to the President for the rank of a brigadier general. From him much aid may be derived in the organization of these corps, and officering of them. With him you may correspond in your absence. Other generals, in case the whole force be raised, will be necessary. You will enquire into the pretensions of different characters there, and communicate them to this department, without compromitting yourself to the parties. I communicate to you in particular confidence, a copy of a letter to general Dearborn, on a similar subject, in relation to the eastern states, the instructions, in which, so far as they are applicable, you will observe. You will see, that it is desired not to be governed in these appointments by party considerations; but to confide in, and associate in command, with those who have supported the government, any meritorious, honorable men, who, jealous of the rights and honor of their country, are willing to vindicate them in the present controversy. To the governor of Vermont, you will shew great respect, and consult with him on all subjects which you may find conducive to the public interest.

I will forward to you by an early opportunity, a law prohibiting under new and severe penalties all commerce and intercourse with the enemy,[35] to which you will pay particular attention. You will not, however, delay the suppression of this practice for the receipt of the law: the existence of war authorises us to do it. The supplies which the enemy have received from us, have given them great aid in the prosecution of the war. It is important to the public interest, as well as to our national character, that it be completely suppressed.

I am, &c.
JAS MONROE.

[35] Presumably the statute approved on February 4, 1815, six days earlier than the date of this letter.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

The Materialist Conception of History: A Critical Analysis. By KARL FEDERN. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xiv, 262. $3.50.)

A competent historian and clearheaded thinker on social institutions, Dr. Federn is properly aware of the immense complexity of the factors involved in historical phenomena and of the prosaic necessity of investigating numerous facts before a little knowledge is won. Attractive generalizations, plausible simplifications, and a priori formulas do not appeal to him, and he views with disapproval the procrustean methods employed by Marxians in forcing history to fit the "laws" enunciated by their master. With such a habit of mind, Dr. Federn addresses himself to an examination of the Marxian theory of history. The result is an incisive critique, brilliant in places, mature and lucid throughout.

He quotes at first Marx's celebrated formulation of his conception in the introduction to the *Critique of Political Economy,* and all the chapters of the book, save one, are devoted to an analysis of these propositions, buttressed occasionally by other statements from Marx and Marxians. These chapters deal in succession with the concept of productive forces as the primary and material datum; with the institutional "superstructure", such as primitive mores, Christianity, the Reformation, law, science, and ideas; with the Marxian treatment of the English Revolution of the seventeenth century and the French Revolution; with the division of history into epochs, emphasizing the fall of Rome, the nature of feudalism, and the role of class struggles; with the dialectics in history; and with the doctrine of necessity. The last chapter, brief and inadequate, attempts an outline of some of the factors which, in the author's opinion, played a part in the historical panorama.

Throughout the argument Dr. Federn points out the vagueness of the Marxian concepts, the substitution of hasty conclusions for careful study, the confusion of condition and cause, the identification of the consequences of a struggle with the antecedent motives of the contestants, and the arbitrary isolation of a few facts out of a complex totality in order to establish causation or a "contradiction". He insists that intelligence, innovation, and leadership are generally decisive in shaping the alleged primary economic factors, which are, moreover, embedded in an institutional setting and meaningful because of it; and he refutes the subservience of the ideological "superstructure" to the economic basis by demonstrating that the same mode of production coexists with different sets of institutions and that different

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productive systems are found together with identical institutions. Much of the criticism is common property among non-Marxian scholars, but this does not subtract from the quality of the work.

The book would have gained in strength if, instead of confining himself to a single quotation from Marx for an explanation of the Marxian thesis, the author had opened his discourse with a comprehensive exposition of the theory, and if he had not built his analysis exclusively around the particular pronouncements in this initial quotation. As it is, there are certain deficiencies. Marx's conception of the state, the nature of a class, the middle class, and revolution, as well as his theory of knowledge, philosophy, and morality, receive inadequate attention or none at all. There is also an inclination toward strong statement. For instance, the philosophy of the dialectic "is a pleasurable *jeu d'esprit,* no more"; and the final verdict on Marx's doctrine states that "In no way and *in no part* [my italics] is the theory sufficient to explain historical events and their causation".

Lawrence College. M. M. Bober.

International Bibliography of Historical Sciences. Twelfth Year, 1937. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Oxford. (New York: H. W. Wilson Company. 1939. Pp. xxx, 499. $10.65, paper $9.90.)

World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies. Edited by P. Caron and M. Jaryc. (Oxford: International Committee of Historical Sciences: New York: H. W. Wilson Company. 1939. Pp. xiv, 391. $6.75, paper $6.00.)

It was evidently indulgence in a counsel of perfection when the present reviewer, several years ago, set up as the ideal for the annual *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* the appearance of the volume for the literature of a given year by the end of the following year. If realized, this volume for 1937 would have been out in December, 1938, instead of about a year later. Yet upon reading the opening sentence of the *Prólogo*—it is the turn of Spanish priority this time—the commendable and, indeed, remarkable promptness in the publication of this twelfth volume was at once apparent. The actual schedule was about as follows: collection of materials, nine months; editorial preparation for the press, five months; to reach the stage of page proof, four months; to actual publication, five months, including two months' delay because of "recent events". While the collaborators presumably began gathering their materials from the beginning of 1937, it would take several months in 1938 for some of the materials to reach them. Here is a book of over 500 pages in the body of the text, 180 columns of index, and 6520 titles, averaging probably 10 items of detail per title, reckoning the author's name and the title as only one each; the collaborators and editors have doubtless had other competing duties; and eighteen months are hardly enough for the careful work of which the volume is itself evi-

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dence. This reviewer, therefore, moves that his former suggestion of the ideal be amended by establishing the norm at two years. He hears no objection, and the amendment is carried!

Each of the earlier volumes of the *Bibliography* contained lists of the periodicals and bibliographies which were surveyed in the search for titles to be entered and for reviews to be cited. The first volume devoted thirty-seven pages to this purpose, with indication of the abbreviations used. Now a separate volume has been issued to serve this end, comprising 293 pages with 2795 items, increased by a supplement with about 70 items, an index of editors (that is, editors of the periodicals), and other indexes. In the case of many of the periodicals, an analysis of their general scope is given. While this *World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies* is almost an essential for each set of the *International Bibliography,* it has its own independent usefulness.

Library of Congress. WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

The Story of the Political Philosophers. By GEORGE CATLIN. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1939. Pp. xvii, 802. Trade edition, $5.00, school edition, $4.00.)

MR. Catlin covers political ideas from before Confucius to the present. He puts his stress "upon modern times and upon past thought and problems so far as they bear upon the rival philosophies of these times". Although he gives extensive consideration to Plato, Aristotle, the Hellenistic Age, and Rome, he allots only about fifty pages to the Middle Ages and devotes half his book to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He addresses it to the "common reader" and the "student", not to the "scholar". In many ways he carries out his positive purpose admirably. He writes with wit and humor, supplies illuminating biographical details, and shows the influences of time and place on the ideas of his subjects.

Catlin believes that we are making a beginning at a true science of politics whereby we may (as he has attempted to show at length in earlier works) discover laws that can empirically and rationally be affirmed to exist, so that one can conclude that what is contrary to them will not actually succeed in the application of power to the maintenance of social control and co-operation. In this book, except in a few passages, he is considering political philosophy, which is concerned with the ends of political action and with the moral evaluation of political ends and means. His survey leads him to the conclusion that there is no reason to regard this three-thousand-year record as a "history of progress". As no latter-day poet can be said to be better than Homer, no sculptor better than Phideas, and no scientist more intelligent than Archimedes, so the best statements of political aims by modern and present-day theorists are no better than those set forth by Confucius, Plato, or Christ. Still his survey leaves him optimistic, because it

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shows him a prevailing uniformity and persistence of values, a political heritage which, though it may be lost at times, even for centuries, is always recovered. This Catlin calls the "Great Tradition"—"humanism", the appeal to reason, democratic compromise, tolerance and empiricism, pursuit of happiness (bread, health, decency) for individual men of the masses of an existing generation. Only the methods of realizing these ends change radically. Catlin's immediate hope, not assurance, is that men of ability, skill, devotion, and discipline will discover the ways of leadership and service whereby the Great Tradition will again survive the attacks from the exponents of an evil tradition of dogmatism, fanaticism, and violence.

The book runs to over 300,000 words. Compression at a good many places would have made the exposition clearer and more readable. Moreover, in a book covering so wide a range (in time and type) of writers, there are bound to seem to any reviewer to be vagaries in arrangement and the apportionment of space. In these respects this book may seem especially surprising at many points. Laski (so also John Strachey) is given as much space as Hobbes, Locke, or Hegel. Spinoza is considered in the chapter entitled "Thomas Hobbes". Aegidius Romanus, Nicholas of Cusa, Suarez, and Buchanan are treated in the chapter on "Locke and the Social Contract"! The chapter on Rousseau comes after the chapter on the French and American Revolutions as well as after Jefferson, Burke, Bentham, and Mill. The author's somewhat casual attitude towards chronology leads him occasionally into amusing slips. He speaks of Luther "damning Galileo" (Luther died eight years before Galileo was born), and of Fénélon instructing "the young Louis XIV" by the *Télémaque* (published when Louis was fifty-three years old). The probable years of Marsiglio's and of Occam's works hardly justify Catlin's assertion of the dominant influence of the latter upon the former.

There are a number of points at which historians of ideas may be disposed to question Catlin's interpretation and comparisons. His work, however, displays his extensive, alert, and independent reading and his pungent style. The common reader should enjoy much of it; and the scholar, despite Catlin's renunciation, will profit by it at numerous points. Certainly the student should find it a stimulating and illuminating book for reading parallel to the somewhat more systematic and scholarly surveys.

Yale University. FRANCIS W. COKER.

Geschichte Russlands von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Von KARL STÄHLIN. Four volumes, the last in two parts. (Königsberg and Berlin: Ost-Europa-Verlag. 1923-39. Pp. 438, 751, 550, 1136; special index, pp. 59. 9.90, 21.60, 16, and 45 M.)

THE late Karl Stählin devoted the last thirty years of his life to the preparation and writing of his *Geschichte Russlands*. He was a Bavarian and became a student of history when poor health cut short his military

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career in the Royal Bavarian Army. After receiving his doctorate at Heidelberg in 1902, he served as professor of history in the universities of Heidelberg, Strassburg, Leipzig, and Berlin. His early historical publications dealt with Western Europe; then he turned to Russian history. Until 1933 he was director of the "Seminar für osteuropäische Geschichte und Landeskunde" at the University of Berlin. He edited the *Quellen und Aufsätze zur russischen Geschichte,* of which twelve volumes appeared between 1920 and 1935; he published a number of books, among them a beautiful cultural history of eighteenth century Russia, *Aus den Papieren Jacob von Stählins*—all of which made him, quite apart from his work under review, one of the outstanding European scholars in the field of Russian history.

In contrast to the great Russian historians of the past who concentrated—partly for reasons of censorship—on the politically less controversial "pre-Petrian" Russia, Stählin carried the story all the way up to the birth of Peter the Great in his first and shortest volume. Thus less than one sixth of his work is devoted to the first thousand years of Russian history and all the rest to the last 245 years. In this reviewer's opinion the first volume contributes the least to our knowledge, partly because the nineteenth century Russian historians have already done most of the work and partly because Staehlin's own research dealt primarily with modern Russia. It is with the rise of Peter that the real contribution of Stählin begins. Volume II spans the rules of Peter and Catherine and is, I think, with regard to color, writing, and organization, the outstanding portion of his work. Volume III covers the rules of Paul (very briefly), Alexander I, and Nicholas I; and Volume IV, the last, deals with the development under Alexander II, Alexander III, and Nicholas II. Apart from the use of documents and monographs, Stählin's chief source is the rich mine of *mémoire* literature left by Russians and non-Russians who played their role in the land of the czars.

Stählin belonged to the type of liberal conservative which one could and still frequently can encounter among German scholars and intellectuals. As such he abhorred the despotism of the Russian czars, especially of Nicholas I, and equally he regretted the revolutionary radicalism of its enemies. On the whole he succeeded in writing with such emotional participation, and yet without personal bias, that he carries the reader with him. He was fascinated and moved by the whole great drama that Russian history is, rather than by a like or dislike of any one group or aspect of it. In spite of the bulk of his work he was not so much interested in details as in the great and decisive forces, movements, ideas, and personalities shaping Russia, which he brilliantly resurrected before the mind of the reader. Penetrating deeply into the spirit of Russia, he wrote in a fine and powerful German style, rising to his greatest heights in the characterization of the leading actors in the Russian drama, which makes his work a

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combination of scholarship and literature. As a Bavarian he was able to take a more detached view of Russia than would have been the case had he been a native of Prussia, the destiny of which was linked so closely to the Romanovs.

Stählin's work has its shortcomings. It is primarily a political, cultural, social, diplomatic, and military history; other phases of Russian history—such as economic development, particularly since the middle of the nineteenth century, the movement into Asia, the relations with Asiatic neighbors, the question of non-European minorities—are treated only summarily. There is no bibliography. The footnotes indicating sources are rather insufficient and often give not more than the family name of the author and the page on which a statement in the text is based. The index, in spite of its fifty-nine pages, is unsatisfactory; it includes only personal names and gives no specifications. Under "Peter the Great", for instance, it lists 115 pages or sections without any indication as to where to look for any given aspect of Peter's rule. The reader also finds that Stählin relied primarily on Russian and German literature, neglecting almost entirely the use of the fine work done in the Russian field by American scholars during the last decades.

But apart from these defects, which can probably be largely explained by Stählin's severe illness during his last years and by his fear that he might not live to complete his task, which thus forced him to concentrate on the essentials, his *Geschichte Russlands* is a monumental work. Its completion must have made it easier for Stählin to meet his death. This occurred a few weeks after the last volume had reached the bookstands and two days before the outbreak of the European war.

University of Hawaii. KLAUS MEHNERT.

Finland. By J. HAMPDEN JACKSON. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. 243. $2.00.)

THE object of this easily read book, which was written before the recent Russo-Finnish conflict, is presumably to aid in overcoming the lack of knowledge that the author has found among English-speaking peoples with regard to Finland. Mr. Jackson recognizes that the racial aspects of Finnish origins remain problematical, but his references to Swedes, Finns, and Swede-Finns as races indicate that he is not using the term "race" in its accepted anthropological meaning, whatever else it may connote. He sketches in slightly more than one third of the book the story of Finland after the Swedish conquest, of Finland as an autonomous state within the Russian Empire, and of the repercussions of Russification up to the declaration of independence in December, 1917.

Inasmuch as the civil war is officially known in Finland as the War of Independence, it is of special interest to note the author's contention that

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both the Whites and the Reds fought for Finland's independence. Of this claim for the latter, one is constrained to point out, Mr. Jackson has given no convincing proof. The Reds received aid from Russia, and it was indeed in this formative period of the Soviet state that opposition to independence movements of czarist minorities was justified on the ground that they were counterrevolutionary because they were anti-Soviet. On the other hand, a number of Finns fought as volunteers in the German army against Russia, and when the Whites won, it was with the assistance of a German expeditionary force. The fear of the Allies, however, that Finland might become a German controlled province was dispelled in November, 1918.

In a country where agriculture is the most important means of livelihood the fundamental problem is land. The agrarian leader Kallio believed that a large landowning peasant class would be a more effective bulwark against communism than legislation against it. Peasants were enabled to purchase land largely with the aid of the Central Bank for Co-operative Societies, which granted loans at extraordinarily low rates. *Lex Kallio* and the co-operative organization of agriculture contributed greatly to improving economic and social life, but Finland was not spared the effects of the general economic depression. Although industry—lumbering and wood milling being the most important—competes with growing success with agriculture, Finland lags behind other Scandinavian countries with regard to organized labor and social security legislation. Mr. Jackson is at his best in describing the economic aspects of Finnish national life.

A foreigner will encounter great difficulty if he attempts a rational discussion of the complex problems underlying the language conflict between Swede-Finns and Finns. Mr. Jackson asserts that it is primarily a class struggle, which is not the case (the reader may find an accurate account in John H. Wuorinen's *Nationalism in Modern Finland*).

Colonel Beck is said to have been a pro-German foreign minister of Poland—a rather bizarre statement to be made by the author of *The Post-War World*. Space prevents further mention of other observations of this sort. Yet, taking one thing with another, Mr. Jackson merits commendation for his effort to give the general English-reading public an inkling of Finnish history.

Temple University. ANDREAS ELVIKEN.

The Renaissance. By WALLACE K. FERGUSON, Associate Professor, New York University. [The Berkshire Studies in European History, General Editors, Richard A. Newhall, Laurence B. Packard, Sidney R. Packard.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1940. Pp. viii, 148. $1.00.)

THE historical period which is now traditionally called the Renaissance has become, as Dr. Ferguson says, "the most intractable problem child of historiography". The problem begins with the chronological demarcation

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of the period. An answer to the question as to its beginning and its end obviously cannot be given without determining the main characteristics which essentially distinguish it from both the preceding and the following epoch. Dr. Ferguson is well aware of this specific problem; for he not only surveys in a comprehensive fashion the various treatments of the Renaissance since Burckhardt, but he describes his own study as "an essay in interpretation rather than a narrative of events" (p. 2). He defines his conception of the Renaissance as follows: "It was a period of transition with certain traits peculiar to itself. It was the age in which the decisive change from a largely feudal and ecclesiastical culture to one predominantly secular, lay, urban, and national took place, and it contained elements of both types in varying proportion" (p. 132). From this point of view Dr. Ferguson embraces the time from the end of the thirteenth to the end of the sixteenth century as the age of the Renaissance.

The conception of the transitional character of the period evidently accounts for the fact that the author devotes one third of his book to "the background of the Renaissance". For in this first chapter he not only discusses "the conservative elements in medieval civilization" (feudalism and church) but also "the dynamic elements" (commerce, money economy, and the towns) and "the rise of centralized territorial states". He thus paves the way for the discussion of the Renaissance proper, during which those new forces eventually came to predominate.

"The land of the Renaissance *par excellence*" was Italy (p. 44), whose development the author analyzes in the second chapter. He approaches the problem with a description of the economic, political, and social evolutions which laid the foundation of and account for the flowering of the new secular culture. Considering the brief space at his disposal, he succeeds in giving an excellent synthesis of the essential elements of the civilization of the Italian Renaissance.

The Renaissance in the North, which Dr. Ferguson discusses in his last chapter, was much less of a unity, and in consequence its presentation offers far greater difficulties. As in the preceding chapters, the author gives a clear analysis of the decisive changes within the economic sphere, including a discussion of the effects of the geographical discoveries. In this chapter there is, however, no special treatment of political development. Dr. Ferguson points out, it is true, that "there was a close interrelation between the growth of centralized territorial states and the rise of capital" (p. 94), but lack of space apparently prevented him from treating the work of the builders of the strong monarchies in Spain, France, and England. Limits of space likewise forbade the treatment of the Lutheran and Calvinist Reformations and of the Catholic Reform. This brevity of treatment of the fundamental political and religious changes during the sixteenth century not only makes the picture of society and culture in the northern countries incomplete, but

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it contrasts also with Dr. Ferguson's basic definition of the historical significance of the period as a whole. The author, however, has presented in very brief compass so many aspects of a complex problem that every student of the Renaissance will be interested in it as a new essay of interpretation.

Yale University. THEODOR E. MOMMSEN.

Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens. Von KARL JULIUS BELOCH. Band II, *Die Bevölkerung des Kirchenstaates, Toskanas, und der Herzogtümer am Po.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1939. Pp. viii, 312. 22.50 M.)

CONTRARY to the conjecture expressed in my review of the first volume of this work (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 69), the second volume has now seen the light. The uncertainty sprang from the fact that the author had died before his all but completed manuscript had received the final touches. However, this second volume was made possible when Gaetano De Sanctis, who had gallantly taken on himself the editorship of the first volume, agreed to continue his services. Although an assurance in express words is lacking, the expectation is aroused that the same conscientious editor will undertake to steer also the third and concluding volume into port.

Since the first volume, after an introductory section dealing with scope and method *(Grundlagen)*, began the examination of the population figures of Italy from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century with Sicily and Naples, the second volume, moving northward, starts off with the States of the Church, passing thence to Tuscany and the group of small territories along the Po—Parma, Piacenza, Modena, and Mantua. That leaves only Venice, Milan, and the adjoining northern areas still to be heard from. As the materials drawn on have already been described (baptismal registers, tax lists, etc., for the medieval period, more or less carefully compiled official census reports for the modern period), nothing more need be said on this head unless it be to reaffirm the exemplary diligence, patience, and scholarly caution employed by the author in arriving at his results. His skepticism of all pretended statistical data supplied by medieval chroniclers is so confirmed that, while undoubtedly justified in the main, it would appear at times to be excessive. When old reliable Villani, not just venturing a guess either, gives Florence a population of 90,000 before the Black Death, the author, commanding no contrary evidence, duly records the fact; but in his illuminating table of Florentine population trends through four centuries (p. 148) he calmly reduces Villani's 90,000 to 55,000 for no other reason than his unshaken assurance of every medieval chronicler's habit of wild exaggeration when it comes to a matter of numbers.

Perhaps the most interesting revelation afforded by this volume is that Italian towns in general reached their peak growth in the fourteenth century or shortly after. On pages 179-80 there is a population table of all Tuscan towns between the fourteenth and the eighteenth century which adds up to a

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dismal tale. It shows that with the Renaissance a stagnation set in which, except for Florence, the capital of Tuscany, and for Livorno, the new seaport which had replaced Pisa, remained unbroken for over three centuries. The table indicates that, beginning with the eighteenth century, Florence and, more particularly, Livorno, registered a timid advance. Not till the nineteenth century, however, was anything like a general forward movement of Italian town life inaugurated. The development traces a national welfare curve accurately expressive of Italy's long estrangement from the shifting main stream of the European commercial and economic movement.

University of Chicago. FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Minaret and Pipe-Line: Yesterday and To-day in the Near East. By MARGRET BOVERI. Translated from the German by LOUISA MARIE SIEVEKING. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 422. $5.00.)

AMONG the many books, usually of some value, which the press continues to pour forth on subjects connected with the Near East the present work deserves special consideration for its good proportions, its skillful relating of past and present, its reasonable generalizations, and its occasional vivid description, based on sympathetic personal observation. It was finished in September, 1938, and the introduction six months later. As the title indicates, the author is particularly conscious of the influence of religion and of commercial imperialism upon the peoples of the Near East.

After the intelligent introduction and an unusually helpful glossary a historical sketch deals with the various conquerors since the beginning and with the numerous religious groups. Next is sketched the penetration, for the most part peaceful, of Western commerce and diplomacy. The war of 1914-18, with its consequences, and the postwar imperialism, especially relating to petroleum, receive due attention. The new Turkey and Iran are described and then the five or six parts of the Arabic world. In conclusion an attempt is made to estimate the position of the Near East in world politics.

Although the author is a German, no tendency is apparent toward propaganda, and surprisingly little is said about German political interests in the Near East. The faults of the English and French interventions are not glossed over, but neither are they treated with venom. In fact, the whole attitude of the writer is impartial and truth-seeking. Her state of mind is well expressed when she says: "A European must be singularly devoid of sentiment if he is not gripped by the spirit of this land and its spaces, by the incomprehensible dispensations of Fate and by the people's resignation to their condition of dependence" (p. 32). Among many expressions revealing originality and keen discrimination are the following: "The disunion of Christians in the East is an elementary fact. No form of danger will bring them together" (p. 98). "The Ottoman Empire was like a vast, sometimes dilapidated, roof over peoples and churches" (p. 138). "Even now an edu-

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cated Western European may suddenly be overcome in one of the cultured homes of Istanbul with the feeling that he is nothing but a barbarian after all" (p. 250). "These Turks, Arabs, and Iranians have visions of new kingdoms arising in the near future that will be as powerful and brilliant as those of their ancestors" (p. 399). "Mahomet's message still stands highest in the Near East to-day" (p. 400).

The book is provided with sixteen maps (mostly sketch maps) and a table showing the churches and sects of Christendom before and after 1045 A. D. The accuracy of the author and the skill and style of the translator are of the best.

University of Illinois. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

Turkey at the Straits: A Short History. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL and FRANCIS DEÁK. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xii, 196. $2.00.)

IT is fitting that a short and popular volume should be devoted at this time to the problem of the Straits, "one of the oldest and most persistent problems in European history". Whether the West realizes it or not, "to at least half of Europe there is no other single international problem of greater importance than the control of the few short miles of waterway that connects the Black Sea with the Mediterranean, those narrow Straits which separate Europe from Asia".

The first part of the volume, written by Professor Shotwell, treats of the question of the Straits from ancient times to the Treaty of Berlin (1878). Originally it had been prepared as a memorandum for the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at the Paris Peace Conference and was published in 1921. Professor Deák has carried the story substantially down to the signing of the Anglo-Franco-Turkish Treaty of Mutual Assistance of October 19, 1939. The general reader will find in the volume convenient summaries of the problem of the Straits in the ancient, medieval, and modern historical periods. The development of Ottoman control, the coming of Imperial Russia to the shores of the Euxine under Catherine the Great, and the rivalry of the great European powers—Russia, Austria, France, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy—are briefly portrayed. While there are good summaries of the legal position of the Straits under Ottoman public law and international treaties at various periods in history, they are inadequate from a scholarly point of view. Three chapters are devoted to the problem of the Straits in the pre-World War era and during the struggle of 1914-1918. The final portion of the volume treats of the problem at the Paris Peace Conference, which resulted in the abortive Treaty of Sèvres (1920), at Lausanne (1922-23), and at Montreux (1936). The book closes with an analysis of the issue from Montreux to the signing of the Anglo-Franco-Turkish Mutual Assistance Pact of 1939.

Turkey at the Straits is not a volume of detailed research. It is intended

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for the convenience of the general reader. Professor Shotwell, for instance, has not troubled to put the earlier portion of the volume fully abreast of recent research, particularly in the period from the Crimean War to the Treaty of Berlin. The opposing Anglo-Russian theses at the Congress of Berlin are substantially ignored by the authors. Moreover, the statement that without full reciprocity Great Britain had always opposed the "Russian claim for unlimited egress from the Black Sea" and the reference to Great Britain's "persistent policy of opposing a preferential status for Russia and the riverain powers" seems to be a misinterpretation of Sir Edward Grey's policy in 1907-1908 (pp. 125, 128). The casual interpretation of the Charykov Kite of 1911 might be corrected by reference to *Documents diplomatiques français* (Ser. 3, Vol. I, pp. 227, 323, and 341).

The authors have provided the reader with a selected bibliography. The documentary appendix includes the Straits conventions of Sèvres, Lausanne, and Montreux, the three great regulatory instruments of the period between 1920 and 1936. Appendix No. 4 contains the text of the Anglo-Franco-Turkish Treaty of Mutual Assistance. The volume will be welcomed as a brief and convenient summary in the ever-growing literature on one of the world's oldest, newest, and most complicated problems.

Miami University. HARRY N. HOWARD.

Nationalism. A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xx, 360. $3.75.)

THIS volume provides the best available survey of the subject. Since the study group and the pre-publication critics of its report consisted of scholars from many fields of work and from many countries, the topic is viewed in a broad way with constant use of the comparative method. The authors endeavor with unusual objectivity to understand the phenomenon of nationalism and to evaluate its power for both present and future society. They treat it as a cultural product to which no nation is peculiarly addicted and recognize that but for the grace of history the British people might be acting at present like the German. "It is difficult to resist the conclusion", they write, "that nationalism in the nineteenth century was no less militant than the extreme forms of nationalism current to-day, and that it owes its better repute mainly to the fact that the nineteenth-century world was a less crowded place and that clashes could be 'adjusted peacefully' at the expense of weaker races" (p. 187). In another place the authors make these statements:

> Nationalism takes its most extreme forms in those countries in which social cohesion has not proved strong enough to withstand the strain of internal transformation. But in no nation is this material and spiritual capital

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inexhaustible. . . . The social disputes which inevitably arise with the approaching end of peaceful expansion will submit the spontaneous forces of cohesion everywhere to the severest test. The increasing difficulty and danger of the attempts to find an international solution make social solutions all the more urgently imperative (p. 248).

The main objection which the reviewer had to the work in manuscript form and which he still has lies in the loose use of the concept of nationalism. The authors recognize that "although the nation itself and national feeling can be traced back to a much earlier date, nationalism as a conscious political force was a product of the French Revolution and its sequel" (p. 31). Nonetheless, they devote half the book not to the discussion of nationalism but to the history of the formation of nations. They take it for granted that nationalism covers manifestations in Asia and the Americas as well as in Europe, an assumption that remains to be proved and that must be strongly conditioned. At times they speak of nationalism as singular, at others, as plural. After referring to two main types of it (represented by the English and the German), they assert that the two types are "not in reality two different classes of phenomena, but two different phases in the development of the same phenomenon" (see last chapter). The glossary which the authors include fails to aid the reader, for one cannot define in a sentence a term so rich in cultural content as nationalism.

The results of this uncertainty are evident throughout the book. The authors treat mainly the moderate "type" and handle the other rather gingerly. They realize that "the psychology of the principal totalitarian states is essentially a psychology of crisis" (p. 327). They also know that, "Even where national unity is of long standing, national feeling will be inflamed to a high pitch, and exhibit all the more extreme symptoms, in moments of national crisis or a threat to the national existence" (p. 197). Notwithstanding the constant recurrence of the word "crisis" and its synonyms, the authors nowhere draw the full implication of this kind of situation. On page 249 it is stated that "no picture can be complete which fails to emphasize the emotional associations which have come to be linked with the word 'nation' "; but the most striking neglect in the book is that of the use of psychology.

The book leaves the reader confused about the role of the different classes and occupational groups in nationalism. After learning about peasant nationalism on page 83 and reading on page 273 that "in certain respects peasants display extremely strong national feeling", one discovers on page 274 that "peasants remain completely untouched by the intellectual and political elements of modern nationalism". The role of the aristocracy, the military and bureaucratic elements, and of other groups in the population is less clarified even than that of the peasant. And the relation between the process of nationalism and that of liberalism suffers from the same uncertainty.

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In short, the book contains so much about background and about the elements conditioning and related to nationalism that it never comes to grips with the thing itself. One wonders whether the scholar has much more comprehension of nationalism than Chamberlain had.

American University. EUGENE N. ANDERSON.

Modern Dictatorship. By DIANA SPEARMAN. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 272. $2.75.)

Symposium on the Totalitarian State from the Standpoints of History, Political Science, Economics, and Sociology, November 17, 1939. [Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 82, No. 1.] (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1940. Pp. 102. 75 cents.)

MISS SPEARMAN undertook a most formidable task in her volume on modern dictatorship. Starting with a subject that is contemporary, dynamic, and ever-changing in itself, she has attempted to cover the dictatorships of Russia, Italy, Germany, Poland, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Yugoslavia. She is concerned not only with an analysis of the psychological, economic, and other aspects of dictatorship policies but also with the historical antecedents of the rise of these dictatorships; this leads her to an excursus into the history of political ideas from Machiavelli to Hitler for the purpose of comparative evaluations of democracy and autocracy. It is no small wonder, therefore, that the volume falls far short of a satisfactory synthesis of all these materials. There are many interesting quotations, some glimpses of fruitful concepts, but for the most part the book is characterized by exaggerated statements, confused thinking, and vagueness.

Because this volume is typical of so many works on dictatorships by social scientists and historians it is important to point out several serious failings in the method and approach of such writers. In the first place, in their eagerness to be "realistic" and free from any trace of moral judgment, these authors take the events of the past few years as a closed book ready for scientific study and analysis. They convene the Hegelian court of world history to recognize the "realities" of the situation, and they accept most recent events, particularly if successful, as final and permanent. The old conventional historian shied away from events less than a half century before his time as too recent for study. We have become critical of such an attitude and rightly so. But this does not mean that we can apply the same historical judgments to contemporary events as to those of the past. Our interest in recent and contemporary happenings is to give life and meaning to our study of the more distant past. The establishment of totalitarian dictatorships in Europe is only a most recent occurrence; the life and death struggle between these and other forms of political and economic life has only just begun. What the result of this struggle will be only time will tell. All judgments and evaluations, therefore, can be considered as only tentative.

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Out of this so-called realism usually spring two clear distortions of historical fact. In order to prove that dictatorships are the answer to realistic needs our authors continue to indulge in the by now fashionable intellectual sport of ridiculing the pre-fascist regimes, particularly in Italy and Germany. There is no objective evidence, however, to show that these countries were either more corrupt or less efficient than, let us say, the Third French Republic in 1900 or the United States under Harding. Nor is it objective fact to speak, as Miss Spearman does, of the assent of the population to the dictatorship regimes because they fill a need felt wanting in the previous governments. The facts are that in none of the European dictator countries did free and open elections ever give to the ruling group anything like a clear majority of votes. Unless assent of the people is made synonymous with failure to make a violent revolution, there is no other objective method thus far devised for ascertaining the measure of acceptance of a regime by the governed. What is implicit in such interpretations of assent is again a "realistic" but wholly unproved proposition, that a government successfully entrenched in power must in the very nature of things be acceptable to the people.

Even more serious is the crude application of intellectual history in such studies as the one by Miss Spearman. Of all branches of history there is none more subtle, more treacherous, or more open to wild analogies and fantastic kinship relations than the study of the history of ideas. A few citations from Miss Spearman's volume will illustrate this crude kind of intellectual history. They are all concerned with the intellectual antecedents of Lenin, Mussolini, or Hitler. "It is probable that he [Nietzsche] influenced Lenin through Sorel" (p. 145). "Sorel's influence on Mussolini is direct and avowed by both master and pupil" (p. 147). "William James, another of Mussolini's spiritual fathers" (p. 148). It would have proved sobering had Miss Spearman consulted Gaudens Megaro's *Mussolini in the Making* on the subject of Mussolini's intellectual ancestors. Later, in speaking of National Socialism, Miss Spearman quotes the lines of Goethe,

> Grey and ashen, my friend, is every science
> And only the golden tree of life is green,

and adds: "From this belief the ideas on education in *Mein Kampf* are clearly derived". It is of course thoroughly fantastic thus to link the poetic ideas of Goethe with the educational theories of Adolf Hitler.

The symposium of the American Philosophical Society contains six papers and some discussion comments by Herbert Heaton. Professor Fritz Marx discusses "Totalitarian Politics", Professor Thomas Woody, "Principles of Totalitarian Education", Professor C. R. Whittlesey, "The Relation of Totalitarianism to International Trade and Finance", Professor Hans Kohn, "The Totalitarian Philosophy of War", Professor Moritz J. Bonn, "The

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Economics of the Totalitarian States", and Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, "The Novelty of Totalitarianism in the History of Western Civilization". The essays by Kohn, Bonn, and Hayes are by far the most valuable and most lucid. It is interesting to see that whereas Marx reduces all forms of totalitarianism to a set of common theoretical principles, Bonn clearly shows how in theory there are some very important differences between communism on the one hand and fascism and National Socialism on the other. In actual administration, however, they have all come to resemble each other. All of which leads the present reviewer to regard with skepticism the diligence of social scientists in producing large tomes on the political and social philosophies of these dictatorships. It is not a question of political philosophy at all; it is a question of the exercise of force and power, and whatever doctrines can be utilized to maintain this power are so used. This is why the historical essay by Hayes should act as a proper corrective of all such studies. It places the problem in the broad perspective of universal history and yet at the same time warns clearly that totalitarianism is a "revolt against the whole historic civilization of the West" and as such a most acute problem for our own generation.

Queens College. KOPPEL S. PINSON.

The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations. By EDWARD HALLETT CARR, Professor of International Politics in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xv, 312. $3.00.)

THE title of this excellent book is misleading, the subtitle a token of the author's modesty rather than of the quality of his work. Actually it is neither a factual survey of post-Versailles diplomatic history nor an "introduction" to a new form of pedagogy but a mature philosophical treatise on the assumptions, theories, principles, and practices of contemporary international relations. Though it would fit more neatly into the category of political science than of history, its wisdom and critical discernment defy classification. To the historian it offers a much-needed examination of all of the major national, international, geographical, economic, political, and moral premises, from one or the other of which most diplomatic history is written. To the political scientist it presents a wealth of historical evidence in support of its often original, always stimulating, conclusions. Realism without cynicism, learning without pedantry, courage, and a most steadfast scholarly integrity guide the reader through its pages. In the opinion of this reviewer it is without equal in its field.

The crisis to which Professor Carr refers is a crisis in thought, in which the political and economic ideas of the nineteenth century fight a rear-guard action against the surging actualities of the twentieth. Upon this intellectual battlefield (which became a military one just before the book went to press)

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the eternal forces of power and change contend for mastery with those of peace and the *status quo*. No rational (*i.e.*, peaceful) means has yet been found to reconcile these opposing forces in international society despite the fact that they are constantly reconciled within the nations themselves. While the nation can accomplish this by political compromise of an orderly character, or by many varieties of bloodless revolution or "peaceful change", the nations among themselves cannot do so because they acknowledge no common authority. None of the specific international devices proposed to date—international law, free trade, the League of Nations, Marxian internationalism, "Union Now", etc.—has availed because none has attained to universality. Nationalism is still the dominant form in international society, and the comfortable nineteenth century assumption of a harmony of interests, that what was good for one nation was good for all, remains a comfortable nineteenth century assumption. Its greatest weakness lies in the fact that throughout history it has been made by ruling nations, who had first used power in their own interests to achieve their ascendancy. As Professor Carr puts it, "The necessary drawback about all conceptions of a world order depending on the ascendancy of a superior Power is that they ultimately involve recognition of the right of the strongest to assume world leadership." Yet he admits that in international as well as in national affairs order depends on superior power.

The relationship of power and morality is one of the oldest problems in philosophy. Yet the author's broad knowledge of history, economics, political theory, and law and his application of this to a field long neglected by philosophers enable him to make an original and highly valuable contribution. To take his work at his own evaluation of it, it would make an admirable introductory text for any college course in diplomatic history or international relations. It deserves wider and more practical attention. A wiser commentary on why the nations are now at war, a more fruitful suggestion for the peacemakers, has yet to be written.

Yale University. A. Whitney Griswold.

The Plans of Men. By Leonard W. Doob, Assistant Professor of Psychology in Yale University. [Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.] (New Haven: Published for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 411. $3.00.)

In the midst of the present wholesale remolding of traditional institutions in what we have been wont to call "the civilized world", all of us go about our work as social scientists with a heightened sense of the relativity of human institutions. The material with which we work must always include institutions *and* people; but, whereas it has been overeasy for us in the past to tip the emphasis to the institutional side, the new sense that venerable institutions can be molded swiftly into strange new forms by an

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upstart Hitler now forces our attention back to the qualities of human personalities, in whose malleable habits and values all institutions live and change.

For this reason this competent book by a social psychologist is useful to all of us. Professor Doob recognizes the prevalence of institutional confusion in the United States; he sees planning as a central factor in reconstructing living; he accepts human beings and their desires, and not institutions, as the sole criterion by which to appraise and to replan our institutional world; he sees for the social sciences an active role in this rebuilding; and he then sets out to appraise what science knows about how men are motivated and behave and the implications of these things for planning in the United States.

The book falls into three parts. The first concerns behavior in its biological, psychological, and institutional aspects, including the conceptions of these held by our several social science disciplines. The second deals with the current widespread fact of planning in the United States, from the plans each individual makes for his private "future" to industrial and governmental planning, and it closes with a statement of the case for regional planning. The final fifty pages are devoted to "perplexing problems" involved in planning.

Professor Doob is a tentative, "liberal", planner. This appears in his rejection of a "master plan" by forcing upon it the extreme interpretation that it "disregards men" and in his piecemeal approach to social, political, and economic planning. He fails to face squarely the question whether there can be either effective social *or* political *or* economic planning unsupported by planning in each of these other spheres. Trusts and trade association activities under N.R.A. have amply demonstrated the fresh havoc that planning in a single institutional area creates.

Columbia University. ROBERT S. LYND.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. Edited by TENNEY FRANK *et al.* Volume V, *Rome and Italy of the Empire.* By TENNEY FRANK. *General Index to Volumes I-V.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. Pp. xvi, 445; 140. $5.75 with General Index.)

THE death of Professor Frank before the completion of this volume is deeply to be regretted. The manuscript, to be sure, was revised by the editors charged with publication, but unfortunately the volume still remains more a torso than a completed work. Only the first century is adequately treated; about twenty-five pages are given to the second century and about five pages to the third. The epilogue is a combination of two popular lectures, most of which had been incorporated into earlier sections of the volume. This is followed by an appendix which contains the text and translation of

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the Edict of Diocletian. The value of this is lessened by the absence of commentary. In view of this and of the fact that it is still uncertain whether the edict was effective in Italy, the 117 pages devoted to the text and translation hardly seem justified.

The first three chapters of the volume discuss the public finances of the empire up to the time of Alexander Severus. Chapter IV discusses the municipal finance of Italian cities; chapter V, the regions of Italy during the early empire; chapter VI, agriculture during the first century; chapter VII, industry in special branches; chapter VIII, Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii; chapter IX, trade and commerce.

The private fortunes of the early emperors are properly included in the discussion of public finance, but the distinction between public and crown property is not always clearly drawn (*e.g.*, p. 37). The statement of Suetonius that Vespasian had to find forty billion sesterces to meet immediate needs remains incomprehensible. This amount is eighty times the annual income some forty years earlier (p. 36). Since modern ideas of public debt and deficits were unknown to Roman finance, the statement by Suetonius must be regarded with extreme caution.

In the matter of coinage the editorial revision has not always been careful. The accounts of the coinage of Nero on pages 35 and 91 are confused, and the blame for inaccuracies about the number of aurei and denarii to the pound cannot be placed on Mattingly, who is quoted as the general source. The account of Neronian coinage is corrected on page 91, although a mathematical error about the ratio of gold to silver is carelessly repeated, the real ratio being about 1:10 instead of about 1:13 if adjustment is made for the amount of alloy. The treatment of coinage in the third century is only casual, and nothing is said of the reforms of Diocletian or of the values of the coinage used in his edict.

There are some obvious slips, such as the pay of soldiers at seventy-five and one hundred denarii per month (p. 56, n. 54). The value of the mnaieion as eighty-four denarii in Egyptian money (p. 91, n. 58) is meaningless since there were no Egyptian denarii, and the value of Egyptian currency in terms of Roman money is still a matter on which there is no agreement. On page 302 the Flavian army seems to be dated two centuries before A.D. 69. Some inconsistencies have not been ironed out, such as the statement that Marcus had nearly three billion sesterces in the treasury on his accession and no adequate reserves (p. 77). There seems to be confusion as to whether Diocletian's monetary system was fiat currency or whether coins of intrinsic value were issued (pp. 299, 303).

Agriculture, the chief occupation of the Italian people, is fully discussed, while shorter sections are devoted to iron, copper, glass, brick, pottery, precious metals and jewelry, furniture, and clothing. The section on terra sigillata was prepared by Howard Comfort, and one regrets that it is so

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short. In the section devoted to clothing, discussion of the linen industry is omitted though brief references to it are found scattered through the volume. Italian dyestuffs seem inadequately mentioned even though the industry was relatively small. Confusion has been created by using the word "homespun" with its modern connotation of a loosely woven fabric to denote weaving done in the home. The reviewer believes that home weaving could produce as excellent quality in ancient times as it does today and that no inferences as to home *vs.* factory weaving can be drawn from the quality of the weaving. Felt cannot be made from rags (p. 204).

Princeton, New Jersey. LOUIS C. WEST.

The Origins of Private Penance in the Western Church. By Rev. R. C. MORTIMER, Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, University Lecturer in Early Canon Law, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Ripon. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. 194. $3.50.)

THE main thesis of this book is that before the time of Gregory the Great "there did not exist a system of private penance normally available for less grave sins", much less for mortal ones; "nor was it a widespread custom to dispense from public penance in particular circumstances" (p. 140 and *passim*). Many scholars agree with the author that penance did not become predominantly private on the Continent until after the close of the sixth century, and even then, principally because of the influence of the Celtic and the Anglo-Saxon penitentials. But there are cogent reasons for challenging the assertion of Mr. Mortimer and others that the early church knew only a system of public penance; for many important private elements existed in penance then, alongside of public ones.

Private confession, as the first step in penance, was one such old element. (See articles "Confession" and "Pénitence" in Vacant and Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*). Tertullian's account of the total process of expiation (*exomologesis,* in Latin, approximately *"poenitentia"*) did not limit that process to public penance but required also private penitential acts, *e.g.,* fasting, continual prayer and lamentations, etc. (*De Poenitentia,* IX). Various passages in the works of St. Augustine, Origen, Caesarius of Arles, and Cassian prescribe numerous private means of remission somewhat similar to those later required by the penitentials; while St. Augustine elsewhere allows private confession and private satisfaction for certain of the less deadly sins (O. D. Watkins, *History of Penance,* London, 1920, I, 447 and *passim;* A. Lagarde, in *Revue de l'histoire et de la littérature religieuse,* 1913, pp. 230 ff., 540 ff., and 1914, pp. 26 ff., 332). Moreover, penitents in the early church, who had been relegated to the penitential grades, were not reconciled unless their conduct, during the prescribed period, had evidenced a penitential spirit in public acts of penance and in others that were evidently private, *e.g.,* prayer, fasting, and almsgiving (Mortimer, pp. 111, 115).

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The Irish and the British penitentials could and did draw upon the early church for important precedents for prescribing private confession and private acts of satisfaction as well as for other fundamental doctrines and practices. Such old elements these manuals combined with new ones. (See this reviewer's "Origins of Irish Penitential Discipline", *Catholic Historical Review*, October, 1933; and his "Celtic Penance", *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, August and December, 1938). Although the Celtic churches did not require public penance, the Anglo-Saxon church did for a restricted number of sins, from Theodore of Canterbury forward, a fact overlooked by Mr. Mortimer and others. (See this reviewer's *English Penitential Discipline*, New York, 1923, chap. III.)

In spite of detailed discussion of numerous sources, from Tertullian forward, the book under review makes no original contributions; nor does it show use of many sources and secondary works essential to the solution of its problems. The index is incomplete.

White Plains, New York. THOMAS P. OAKLEY.

Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life. Texts, Translation, and Notes by BERTRAM COLGRAVE, Reader in English of the University of Durham. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xiii, 375. $5.50.)

Saint Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland. By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1940. Pp. xii, 112. 10*s*.)

THE author of this critical edition of the *Anonymous Life* and Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* is already known for his edition of Eddius and for an excellent essay on Bede's miracle stories. The present volume, in addition to the Latin originals, provides a good English version of the two *Lives* and a helpful commentary aimed at explaining or illustrating historical and hagiographical allusions in the texts. In a substantial introduction Mr. Colgrave, after a brief sketch of Cuthbert and his age, considers the source, date, and authority of the *Anonymous Life* and then proceeds to a detailed description of the extant manuscripts of both works and to a discussion of their interrelation. An interesting list of manuscripts now lost calls for one correction. The two Lorsch catalogues (p. 40, para. 5) belong not to the tenth but to the earlier and later ninth century (see W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, III, p. 10; plates I and II).

This is the first time that an editor has used all seven manuscripts of the *Anonymous Life*, and the text now printed marks a great advance on previous editions. Unhappily the same cannot be said of Bede's *Life*. There are thirty-six complete manuscripts, and one is grateful to Colgrave for the *apparatus criticus* which for the first time enables one to study adequately the text tradition of this work. Indeed, Colgrave had a great opportunity

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of giving us a text substantially as Bede wrote it. Instead he has pinned his faith to a group of manuscripts whose chief representative is a twelfth century manuscript in Oxford; he has relegated to the *apparatus criticus* the readings of the earliest and best group, C_1VH. Because these three and others of the same class show some omissions and occasional errors, Colgrave erroneously concludes (p. 47) that they are "less faithful to the original" than the group whose readings he adopts in the text. Precisely the opposite is the case. Thus, in the matter of orthography C_1VH usually conforms to the rules in Bede's *De orthographia,* a treatise that Colgrave would have done well to study, and to the spelling found in late eighth and early ninth century manuscripts of the theological works. Bede would never have sanctioned spellings like *iccirco, sullimius, solenni, plerunque, cunque, nanque, quociens, spiritualis,* and a host of others. Considerable acquaintance with early manuscripts of Bede further leads me to believe, though this is harder to prove outright, that the word order in C_1VH, where it differs from that in the printed text, is more often than not correct. But, above all, there are numerous readings of C_1VH which are indubitably right and which should be in Colgrave's text, not in his *apparatus criticus,* for instance:

P. 144, n. 14, *dubietate. Absque* (or *sine*) *ulla dubietate* (not *ambiguitate*) is a favorite phrase of Bede, used four times in the *Ecclesiastical History* and often in other works.

P. 166, n. 1, *coelestem. Coelestis* (or better *caelestis*) *patria* occurs five times in the *Ecclesiastical History, supernus* being employed most commonly with abstract nouns.

P. 176, n. 28, *cernit* (cf. *vestigia cernere licet, E.H.,* 1, 12). After Bede's time *cernere* was no longer so familiar, and *invenit* was substituted.

P. 180, nn. 36 and 38, *putandum* rather than *dubitandum . . . non,* as the use of *putare* is highly characteristic of Bede's style. The text reading with its harsh *quia* after *dubitandum* betrays the later corrector.

P. 188, n. 34, *ingrediensque.* This use of the present participle is not only very common in Christian Latin writers but gives better sense.

P. 200, n. 10, *actibus* (cf. *religiosis actibus intentus, E.H.,* 4, 11). *Operibus* is a later gloss or substitution.

P. 224, nn. 19 and 21. I believe *intulisset* and *festinaret* to be what Bede wrote, the subordinate clause being still part of Cuthbert's thought.

(The C_1VH reading (p. 244, n. 29) *convertimini* for *confortemini* in the citation from I Corinthians 16, 13, is interesting. Is it a mere accident that this is the reading of the corrector in *S,* the eighth century manuscript, written in England by an Irish scribe, of the Pauline Epistles, which is now in Trinity College, Cambridge? The tradition that it was copied by Bede himself is untenable, but it may well be contemporary with him.)

Many other examples could be quoted to illustrate the general superiority of C_1VH, but lack of space forbids. It must suffice to say that Colgrave's

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text is not what Bede wrote; it is Bede's text as it had been revised by the twelfth century to conform to the linguistic and orthographical fashion of that day.

Our knowledge of Ninian depends primarily on a brief notice in Bede, though the twelfth century biography by Ailred probably contains a fair amount of reliable tradition about the saint's life. Dr. Simpson, in order to secure a clearer picture of Ninian and his work, begins with an admirable summary of what is now known about the Roman occupation of Britain in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. He conjectures with some probability that the beginning of Ninian's mission was closely connected with the political stabilization of northern Britain achieved by Stilicho. He then shows how the literary evidence in the main accords with the archaeological data and traces the probable course of Ninian's activities by reference to churches and sites traditionally associated with him. The net result, though largely hypothetical, is on the whole convincing. Ninian is now seen to have been a far more important figure in the early history of the church than was formerly supposed. Furthermore, Dr. Simpson is justified in his contention that the extent of Columba's missionary labors two centuries after Ninian has been much exaggerated. Two maps and a number of excellent photographs add to the value of this stimulating essay.

Cornell University. M. L. W. Laistner.

Herrschaft und Bauer in der deutschen Kaiserzeit: Untersuchungen zur Agrar- und Sozial-Geschichte des hohen Mittelalters mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des südostdeutschen Raumes. Von Alfons Dopsch. (Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer. 1939. Pp. vi, 272. 11 M.)

Like others of Professor Dopsch's works this latest volume must be read by serious students of European economic and social history. It is a comprehensive study of conditions in the High Middle Ages (the tenth to the thirteenth centuries) in the wide regions of country where Germans predominated. It continues earlier work on the Carolingian period and fills in the spaces left by studies of later times. It is based on encyclopedic knowledge of the sources for the economic history of the German Middle Ages and takes into account the conclusions of other historians, present and past, criticizing and affirming them. The wealth of information, the great number of specific citations, make the main line of thought sometimes difficult to follow, and the reader could wish that some of the more controversial matters had been left to the footnotes; but economic historians of England and France will find the detail indispensable if they are interested in German arrangements analogous to those in the countries of their choice.

The volume opens with a discussion of *Herrschaft* in its relation to *Grundherrschaft,* terms difficult to translate or define with exactitude by reason of their feudal connotations. Dopsch shows how loosely the second term is used to denote a number of different relationships. He shows, as he

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has done before, the origins of *Grundherrschaft* lying, in part, in early Germanic days described by Tacitus, when land was distributed *secundum dignationem,* and also in part, in the late Roman period, and emphasizes the importance of the immunity grant in unifying and clarifying the complex of privileges and powers existent over land in those days.

Dopsch's study of German society begins with the unfree and proceeds through the *censuales,* the *Meier,* the *ministeriales,* and the *Ritter* classes. Students of English social history will notice with special interest the full discussion of the class which, from the modern point of view of legal status, was neither free nor unfree, corresponding to those generally called *censuarii* in English customals. Here as elsewhere the medieval inability to distinguish clearly between status and tenure, between the legal and economic aspects of the medieval villagers, makes definition difficult and calls to mind Maitland's insistence that legal thinking starts not with simplicity in early ages but with vagueness and proceeds to a greater definition and clarity of earlier ideas. Dopsch's later chapters deal with certain more general matters, stressing the slow and gradual changes in society and denying any revolutionary movements, for example, in shifts from labor to money economy.

The reader is aware always of the great mass of specific facts on which Dopsch bases his interpretations. He calls for more local histories of German regions, and one remembers his own very interesting studies—for example, of the high Alpine valleys—and wishes that some of his great knowledge could be turned in the future towards studies of this kind and to the leading of other students in these peaceful and instructive directions. One wishes, too, that more had been said of colonization and of the interesting classes of the *adventicii* and *hospites,* of which M. Bloch has taught us so much in French history. The concluding chapter, enumerating some of the results of his studies and their place in German history, is helpful to the reader who has sometimes felt lost in the mass of detail and controversial discussion. Even those who differ with Dopsch must be aware of the reasonableness of his conclusions and the wide stretch of his knowledge.

Mount Holyoke College. N. Neilson.

Antiquities of Bail: Origin and Historical Development in Criminal Cases to the Year 1275. By Elsa de Haas. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. viii, 174. $2.25.)

Bail, "the highest remedy in law, for any man that is imprisoned", has long been a sacred English liberty. Its formative period lay between the Assize of Clarendon, 1166, and the Statute of Westminster, 1275. Here Dr. de Haas has concentrated her research, and she shows many things: that individual manucaptors were normally used as bail pledges; that Holdsworth's contention that the prototype of bail is found in the frankpledge system is plainly wrong; that the writ *de homine replegiando* was the

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earliest writ governing release; that bail was extended to homicide cases by broadening the scope of the writ *de odio et atia;* that this writ gained its popularity as a device to avoid the duel and not, as has been thought, to get release from prison; and that the Edwardian statutes clarified and codified the bail procedure which had grown up through local custom and the common law.

Reasons for the growth of bail are also presented. Its most rapid development, stimulated by a better organization of royal justice, came directly after the Assize of Clarendon. The heyday of the writ system soon followed, and chancery's easy issuance of writs further extended the use of bail until 1250. In tracing its development through this experimental period Miss de Haas also discusses subsidiary aspects of bail. She describes the prices (which were very high) of the various writs; their phraseology and the changes new masters of chancery made in them; the clerks' complacent disregard of the carefully worded formulas of the registers; and the corruption of local officials, notably the sheriffs, in the administration of bail.

Miss de Haas has assembled literally thousands of entries from the various rolls to support her conclusions. Her research closely resembles the scientific in the amount of data collected and in the sound case method she uses. A refined objectivity marks her findings, which supplant the insubstantial generalizations of earlier historians. Although the text is kept free from repetitious detail by elaborate footnoting, a simple chronological structure would have made her analysis easier to follow. Closer attention to dates, paragraph sequence, and the meaning of words would have focused her points more clearly. Nowhere is bail precisely defined for any given point in time.

In the first chapter Miss de Haas shows an overconscientious respect for tradition. Here the evolutionary principle has driven her to seek the origin of bail back in the Anglo-Saxon period. In doing this she has patiently summarized the controversial writings of Gierke, Beyerle, Rintelen, and Liebermann. But much of their history is highly conjectural, and often they deal with Continental institutions. These are so remote from the "realism of concrete situations" in Angevin England that their relevancy to later bail practices is hard to find. The Anglo-Saxon surety systems offer analogies to bail, but they were not its immediate progenitor. Pointing out these remote analogies contrasts unfavorably with the sound evidential method Miss de Haas uses throughout the rest of her book. When she writes that wergeld pledges "were similar in function to modern bail" and that "guaranteeing the payment of the wergeld approximates most nearly the modern bail situation", she is quite aware that no direct connection between early Germanic institutions and twelfth century bail can be proved. The absence of case records prior to the Angevin period makes it impossible to demonstrate a continuous evolution. It is regrettable that documents from the

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Norman period are not extant, but it is more to be regretted that the evolutionary tradition in historical research still compels scholars to seek the genesis of institutions in a mystical past.

Yale University. WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

Der König von Frankreich: Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. zum 16. Jahrhundert; Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des abendländischen Staates. Von PERCY ERNST SCHRAMM. Band I, *Text.* Band II, *Anhänge, Anmerkungen, Register.* (Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1939. Pp. xv, 273; 148. 14.60 M.)

THIS book bears on one of the most difficult problems of medieval history. How was it possible to lay the foundations for a national state in a world which knew neither nationalism nor the state? How was it possible for the artificially created, loosely-knit kingdom of the West Franks to develop into the living unity of the kingdom of France? A complete answer to these questions would require a knowledge of popular ideas and beliefs which we may never possess, but Professor Schramm is certainly right in assuming that a study of the development of the French concept of monarchy will throw a great deal of light on the problem. As he points out, the "Nationalstaat . . . in Frankreich die Besonderheit aufweist, dass das Königtum im Gegensatz zu England zum Inbegriff des Staates und im Gegensatz zum Reich zum Inbegriff der Nation aufsteigt".

About two thirds of the book is based on articles which appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte* in 1936 and 1937, but the chapters on the Carolingian period are new. Those familiar with Professor Schramm's earlier studies will not be surprised to find that he relies heavily on the coronation rituals to explain and illustrate changes in the French concept of monarchy. This concentration on the coronation orders has left him little space to deal with other materials, such as administrative and judicial records. It has also led him to give rather rapid summaries of the development of certain beliefs in the period before they became associated with the coronation. However, if the book centers in the coronation service, so did most of the popular ideas about the French kingship. It was the religion of monarchy which united the French people and strengthened the French state, and that religion found its most perfect expression in the "eighth sacrament" of Reims.

A few examples will illustrate the author's methods and results. He believes that the fact that Charles the Bald and his successors were consecrated rulers did much to preserve both the monarchy and the unity of France during the critical period of the ninth and tenth centuries. It may be going a little far to say that there was a "Verdichtung des Staates" during those years, but most scholars would agree that by 987 "die Existenz Frankreichs war jedoch nicht mehr zu erschüttern". He shows how every stage in the development of Capetian power was accompanied by a growth of myth and legend about the sacred character of the monarchy and how popular beliefs

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which originally had no connection with the king were brought into the service of the monarchical ideal. Thus during the thirteenth century both the Charlemagne-cult and the forms of chivalry were worked into the coronation service. Myth and legend made the French king unique in Europe. His subjects were convinced that he was the most Christian king long before he officially received the title; they were also convinced that they were a chosen people. These beliefs were not mere popular superstitions; they were held by high and low, educated and uneducated alike. Even the nominalistic philosophers of the fourteenth century, who were so skeptical about other ceremonies, believed that the French coronation was peculiarly efficacious because divinely instituted.

Some of Professor Schramm's conclusions may arouse controversy. He probably has the weight of the evidence on his side when he ascribes a later date than did Bloch to the recognition of the king as a "personne ecclésiastique". The peers of France may have been given a part in the coronation ritual because their presence signified an "assensus populi", but it seems more likely that their act represented the submission of the feudal nobility. It may be doubted whether Philip the Fair was as responsible for the political theories of his court as Professor Schramm suggests. It also seems unlikely that Golein's reference to the "religion royal" had exactly the meaning which Professor Schramm gives it in some places. It is true that the French by the end of the fourteenth century had built what was almost a national religion about their king, but Golein was not referring to this faith. He used religion in the sense of a special way of life; the king entered the "religion royal" just as a monk entered religion.

Professor Schramm has written a stimulating survey of the development of the French faith in monarchy. He has also reminded us that a study of popular beliefs is at least as valuable as a study of academic political theories in attempting to understand the development of medieval government. Further research will be necessary on some topics, but Professor Schramm's book will be an indispensable guide to any scholar undertaking this work.

Princeton University. JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

Das deutsche Mittelalter. Von Dr. HEINRICH GÜNTER, Professor an der Universität München. Zweite Hälfte, *Das Volk (Spätmittelalter).* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder; St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. 1939. Pp. x, 304. $3.75.)

THIS second volume of a work by a veteran German scholar covers the period 1250-1519 and is characterized by the same wide knowledge of sources and power of compression as its predecessor—I, *Das Reich (Hochmittelalter)* [919-1250]; see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 360. It retains the chronological, almost annalistic, method of presentation; and the title *Das Volk* seems ill chosen. Strictly, it applies only to the fourth, last, and most

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interesting chapter, which is a *Kulturgeschichte* of Germany in the period indicated and offers great riches in a little room. But as this subject is not treated in the first volume and is not really an organic part of Dr. Günter's book, the proper title should still be *Das Reich.*

The thesis of Günter's work is the importance of the imperial idea *(Reichsidee)* in German history. He defines it as the ever religious motive of the successive emperors to assist the church in its mission of salvation in a peaceful Europe. Günter denies that this idea ended in 1250 with the House of Hohenstaufen; he pursues its force during every reign down to 1519 and rejects the view that Charles V first revived it. It may have failed of realization and even been an illusion, but it was an idea which men, and especially the emperors, lived by and for which they continued to labor.

The traditional view of the German later Middle Ages as a barren and chaotic age, when numberless territories engaged in a furious and meaningless struggle and development was halted, was challenged long ago by Janssen on the cultural side and more recently by others on the political (*e.g.,* by Schmeidler, *Historische Vierteljahrschrift,* XXIX, 93 ff.). Günter stresses the repeated attempts at reconstruction. What marks the special approach of his volume, he declares, is the constant attention to the word "reform". (Let the reader be warned that by "reform" he means primarily the *reformatio imperii* rather than the religious movements anterior to the Reformation.) After the failure of the Hohenstaufen the emperors of the Habsburg and Luxemburg houses sought to buttress their office by developing a *Hausmacht;* thus a strong Austria rose to leadership in Germany. The nation refused co-operation with the French popes in the fourteenth century and gradually became aware of its own responsibilities for the Reich.

It is impossible to discuss the execution in detail. Rudolf I of Habsburg was not opposed to imperial coronation on grounds of policy, it is claimed, but was forced to forego a *Romzug* by circumstances (p. 12). With Nägle and others the author believes that Maximilian I in 1511 did actually plan to become pope-emperor (p. 195). The importance ascribed to gunpowder in the decline of the knights (p. 227) does not square with the views published years ago by Delbrück. For the serious student thirty-six pages of bibliographical footnotes assemble the extensive literature published during the last two decades.

Berkeley, California. BERNARD J. HOLM.

English Diplomatic Administration, 1259-1339. By G. P. CUTTINO. [Oxford Historical Series, Editors, G. N. Clark, C. R. Cruttwell, F. M. Powicke.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. 195. $3.50.)

THIS study makes a frontal attack on the difficult problem of Anglo-French relations, which has hitherto been discouraging to research because of the paucity and obscurity of the sources. The period in view, which is that of a long unstable peace between the Treaty of Paris of 1259 and the

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opening of the Hundred Years' War, was abnormally active in the arts of diplomacy including the assertion of conflicting claims, formal negotiations, arbitrations, and further treaties. It is not the course of events, however, that constitutes the main theme of the book so much as the methods and organs of diplomacy, which are treated on the administrative side after the example of Tout, with no claims to finality.

In the lack of any single department for foreign affairs, the conduct of such business fell, according to custom, partly in the exchequer, partly in the chancery, and then, as the system developed more regularly, in the wardrobe. This is to say that diplomatic correspondence was being carried on under the privy seal, with the secrecy and informality characteristic of this instrument, rather than by letters of the great seal. Hence the inaccessibility to this day of a class of archives unknown to Rymer's *Foedera,* and therefore the value of the present investigation. For the information and guidance of the government at the time a step in the direction of a special portfolio was taken in the appointment of a so-called clerk of the processes, who, from the widely scattered documents at home and abroad, compiled registers, calendars, and other memoranda, which together with his financial accounts are now seized upon as threads to the labyrinth. In the repeated efforts that were made toward clearing up the difficulties that were accumulating on both sides, attention is called to the solemn meeting of plenipotentiaries known as the process of Montreuil. In the course of the argument it was shown that the English king stood toward the king of France in a dual capacity, on the one hand that of a fellow sovereign and on the other that of a vassal. After much casuistry these complications brought the proceedings to nought. The embassies of the time, though not as yet residential, were by no means ineffective, while the front line of lords and bishops was invariably supported by a competent body of clerks who stood in the place of permanent officials.

The few slips of the pen noticed by the reviewer are readily forgiven. The bull *Clericis laicos,* for instance, is misnamed and somewhat distorted. The records of parliament at the time are apparently believed to be contained in a single roll. The claims of Edward III to the crown of France hardly "lit the fuse" to the Hundred Years' War. The merits of the work are enhanced by an instructive array of documents.

Vassar College. J. F. Baldwin.

Das Bistum Basel zur Zeit Johanns XXII., Benedikts XII. und Klemens VI., 1316-1352. Von Dr. Johann Baptist Villiger, Professor an der Theol. Fakultät in Luzern (Schweiz). [Analecta Gregoriana.] (Rome: Gregorian University; Lucerne: Jos. Stocker. 1939. Pp. xxviii, 370. 35 l.)

This volume presents an illuminating picture of three Avignonese pontificates as reflected in the strategically located bishopric of Basel. The author's chief sources are the Vatican archives, notably the Vatican and

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Avignon series of papal registers—*Obligationes et solutiones* and the *Supplicationes*. The first section of the book examines the administration of the bishopric through the various organs of diocesan government. It is mainly descriptive and offers nothing essentially new. The second section, in which the author draws upon materials hitherto unexplored for this purpose, is concerned with the relations of the bishopric and the papacy at Avignon. Particular attention is given to the extension of papal provisions, pluralism, and the practical working out of the fiscal system.

A number of interesting facts emerge. An uninterrupted succession of papal nominees to the see of Basel from 1275 to 1365 attests the familiar system of provisions. In the vigorous opposition of the chapter is disclosed an older, deeply rooted nepotism controlled by the local nobility. Both parties evince the same disregard for the spiritual fitness of their candidates. The extension of papal encroachments is naturally greater in richer benefices and correspondingly less oppressive among those of smaller revenue. Monastic establishments seem to have been singularly immune.

Fourteenth century social trends are curiously mirrored here. Simultaneously with the increasing demands of the gildsmen of Basel for representation in the town government comes the menace of burgher entry into the cathedral chapter through the avenue of papal provisions. To both dangers the canons respond in 1336 by closing their membership to commoners.

Small-scale pluralism proves unexpectedly general. The constitution *Execrabilis* of John XXII is made relatively ineffective through dispensations. Of particular interest is the violent resistance to papal taxation, leading finally to a new procedure which made the granting of provisions contingent upon prior payment of annates at the curia.

Fr. Villiger's volume is a substantial and scholarly contribution. Notwithstanding its clear-cut framework, the integration of this detailed material perhaps leaves something to be desired. Submitted originally as a doctoral dissertation, this study constitutes part of a larger project designed to cover the Avignon period. A section on the role of Basel in the conflict with Ludwig of Bavaria is in preparation and will complete the political aspect of the subject. A subsequent treatment of the bishopric on its spiritual side is included in the plan as a whole. We await both with real interest.

Smith College. LEONA C. GABEL.

Yorkshire Sessions of the Peace, 1361-1364. Edited with an Introduction by BERTHA HAVEN PUTNAM, Sometime Professor of History at Mount Holyoke College. (Leeds: Yorkshire Record Society. 1939. Pp. l, 187.)

PROFESSOR Putnam notes with pardonable pride that all identified rolls of the peace from 1327 to 1485 have now been or are about to be published except fragments for three counties and one roll for Shropshire. She herself published in 1908 extracts from several rolls, in 1933 rolls of the Kent keepers, and in 1938 in a monumental volume twenty rolls for twelve coun-

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ties. Students inspired by her are editing for local historical societies rolls for six counties. This is a distinguished achievement, a demonstration of what singleness of purpose, enthusiasm, and perfected scholarship may aspire to.

A happy result of unified direction is that the editing of all rolls follows a consistent pattern. This is apparent not only in arrangement and presentation of the text but also in the valuable introductory comment which prefaces each volume. In the introduction before us we are told, for example, something of the historical background, of the commissions which defined the powers of the justices, of how the rolls happened to survive, a circumstance usually related to the movements of the king's bench, of the conduct of the sessions, of the offenses dealt with, and, finally, of social conditions existent at the time and place. All this is done lucidly and with discriminating emphasis on pertinent matter.

The Yorkshire rolls here presented are interesting because they reveal the justices' powers at a critical stage of their development and because the cases recorded are significant in type and were to an unusual degree terminated in session. The commissions of March, 1361, and November, 1362, in defining the justices' powers omitted power of array, which had been included before 1360; but they specifically conferred authority to determine felonies, actually exercised earlier, and to deal with economic offenses, especially violations of the labor laws and the laws standardizing weights and measures.

In the record of cases the familiar felonies appear, with homicide and larceny in the lead. Of trespasses 80 per cent were assaults, some against constables in the performance of their duties. But the interesting cases relate to economic wrongdoing. Eighty buyers of wool, both local middlemen and the great merchant exporters, were indicted in the rolls of 1361 and 1362 for using illegal weights and measures. This response to the legislation of 1360-61 proved so unpalatable that such indictments disappeared in the long roll of 1363. The government had granted a *supersedeas,* doubtless due to merchant protest. The roll contains, however, a large number of cases under the labor laws because the commission of 1362 first definitely granted jurisdiction over *all* such legislation. Few fourteenth century rolls resemble it in this, perhaps only the Suffolk rolls of 1361-64; and, since labor cases were unlikely to be removed *coram rege,* its value is apparent. According to the indictments some laborers refused to swear obedience to the laws, and one constable refused to administer the oath. Some refused to make contracts, and others broke them. Most cases, however, were concerned with the receipt of "excess" wages, and many laborers had left their villages to get such. Useful statistics about wages and prices thus emerge. But most revealing is the indication of peasant restlessness, sometimes accompanied by violence, under restrictions favored by landowners and the government. Since convictions were comparatively few, the leniency may have encouraged an intransigence which got out of hand in 1381.

Bryn Mawr College. H. L. Gray.

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Terrae Incognitae: Eine Zusammenstellung und kritische Bewertung der wichtigsten vorcolumbischen Entdeckungsreisen an Hand der darüber vorliegenden Originalberichte. Von Dr. RICHARD HENNIG, Hochschulprofessor a. D. in Düsseldorf. Band IV, *1416-1497 n. Chr.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1939. Pp. x, 522. 6 gld.)

THE fourth volume of *Terrae Incognitae* follows the work of Prince Henry and his successors, voyage by voyage and journey by journey, through the fifteenth century. Despite occasional divergences, the theme is African exploration by land and sea and involves mainly Portuguese effort, closing with the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. The work covers much the same ground as did Charles de la Roncière in *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen-âge,* but Hennig is more thorough, utilizes sources more critically, and is afflicted by fewer preconceptions than was La Roncière.

Those familiar with other volumes of *Terrae Incognitae* know that in form it is a compendium of accounts of voyages and discoveries, each item a unit in itself. The method is to preface each account with excerpts from the sources, to which the author adds his own summary and conclusions. Most of the discoveries discussed are genuinely historical, but since the policy is to omit nothing, several doubtful and fictitious ones are included. Thus, in addition to the voyages that cannot be disputed, Hennig analyzes the evidence regarding Pining and Pothorst, exposes the imaginary discovery of America by Jean Cousin, and refutes the bizarre suggestion made by Eugène Déprez in 1933 that Dias had a predecessor in the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope. Soundness and good sense in distinguishing fact from fiction are shown throughout. The result is a useful compilation of evidence which, although not new, has synthetic value.

Nevertheless, the volume has many shortcomings. Hennig is inadequate in describing the voyage of Bartolomeu Dias, the most important in history prior to that of Columbus. He neglects the sources for the chief secondary writers, Codine, Ravenstein, and La Roncière, and proposes to pool the conclusions of these three as though they were equally reliable, which is not the case. Ravenstein's tracing of the Dias voyage is by far the best, and by attempting to collate this with weaker efforts Hennig provides Dias with an itinerary that will not fit the South African coastline. An important error is the author's identification of *Angra das Voltas* (Bay of Tacking), a key point in the voyage, with Port Nolloth instead of with Lüderitz Bay. This mistake could have been corrected by closer attention to Ravenstein and to the *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* of Duarte Pacheco Pereira. The *Esmeraldo* is apparently known to Hennig only in the Hakluyt Society's translation by G. H. Kimble and not in either Portuguese edition.

Other weaknesses may also be noted. It is surprising to read the account of the journey of Pedro de Covilhan to India and Ethiopia and to find no mention of Conde de Ficalho's excellent modern work on Covilhan. Also, while the narrative of Francisco Alvarez *(Verdadeira informaçam das*

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terras do Preste Joam), the one original source for Covilhan, is placed in the bibliography, Hennig does not appear to have consulted it. A similar case is the failure to use the chronicles of Ruy de Pina and Garcia de Resende in connection with the Diogo Cão discovery of the Congo, despite their inclusion in an eighty-page bibliography. An odd error is the identification of Sir Henry Yule, the famous Orientalist who died in 1889, with Henry Yule Oldham, who at present teaches geography at Cambridge University.

In fairness, it should be said that this work was completed in Germany after the outbreak of the war and published in Holland. This may have entailed difficulties which account for errors and omissions.

Fresno State College. CHARLES E. NOWELL.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Letters of John Chamberlain. Edited with an Introduction by NORMAN EGBERT MCCLURE. Two volumes. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1939. Pp. xx, 627; xiii, 694. $7.50.)

JOHN Chamberlain has been called the Horace Walpole of his time, a tag that will not do, for Chamberlain was not bent on smashing intellectual atoms with erudition. He does deserve a place of honor in the fourth estate. Muddiman's conjecture that Chamberlain was the founder of *Mercurius Britannicus* has not been established, but the letters themselves constitute one of England's earliest newspapers. Whether or not Chamberlain was Ben Jonson's Master Ambler, he is to us now the voice of Paul's Walk for the period covered by his letters.

The news therein is much like that in any paper. From these tidings of court and city the passages about notable public events have become familiar through quotation. Major and minor personalities of every degree, touched by a witty thrust or stripped by grave criticism, tumble into these letters as scrambled as time and circumstance delivered them to public notice. Spectacles and scandals, murders and epidemics, fires, torchlight burials, sermons by noted preachers and by pulpit hornets, the weather, the Thames frozen or in flood, foot races, pranks, war—of such items Paul's Walk could mint more news than the Tower could money. "Wiving and childing" and the disposal of widows to the replenishment of males in family and fortune are gazetted. Banquets and parties and intrigues are noticed, struggles among great ladies for social pre-eminence are related, and women's styles are reported with masculine misgiving. Political disorder was matched only by social turbulence, and indeed it is hard to say whether Scottish courtiers, boisterous London apprentices plaguing the Spanish ambassador, or Stuart Knights of the Bath putting citizens' wives to the squeak were the worst rowdies. The dilapidation of Goldsmiths Row, the impoverishment of clothiers and clothworkers, bankruptcies, disgruntled merchants, capricious taxation, fancy projects to raise money, economic distress in town and

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country swelled complaint. These things were news in Chamberlain's day; they are now part of the social record of an era.

By the collection of these letters in one edition an important account of that era, from 1597 to 1626, is restored. We can follow the entire course of events, told by an intelligent observer, as a kind of prologue to the civil war period. It is a prologue by the well-educated son of a London merchant, by a substantial gentleman who shunned the court and active politics and, in a world made for the presumptuous, preferred a still and quiet life. Chamberlain was just such a man as one of those silent members of parliament who never raised his voice in debates but on crucial issues would cast it for parliamentary resistance. Critical of parliament, contemptuous of petty wrangling and spleen there, no great admirer of some of the leaders, nevertheless in the fundamental conflict with the king Chamberlain sympathized with the house of commons. He was as convinced as any indignant member of parliament that the liberties of Englishmen were threatened by the straining of prerogative to dangerous positions. He was brought to that point of view not by lawyers' arguments or puritanism but by the pretty knavery which he had found in *Basilikon Doron* and lived to see put in practice. The mustering of minions at court, the mischief of Scottish courtiers and Spanish interference, the incongruous king and his incompetent white mule (Buckingham), the abundance of inefficiency in the midst of economic depression, the maladministration of a court that knew not overnight what should be done in the morning—all the confusion of the new order, wherein that which seemed most improbable and unreasonable came soonest to pass, dismayed him. The eccentricity of the regime astonished him. Most of all he resented the indignities that the nation endured at home and abroad, the lack of courage, the pottering diplomacy and pedantic foreign policy which had brought Englishmen to the pass where they were trampled upon with impunity. As he writes his last letters, this scornful, humiliated Elizabethan dismisses the dying King James without regret and hopes, but dimly, that under the new king the world will every way amend. James did not make a rebel of Chamberlain, but doubtless Charles would have.

These volumes contain all of Chamberlain's extant letters that have been found, including those hitherto printed or misprinted in several well-known works. In an introduction the editor has supplied an interesting biographical sketch of Chamberlain.

Yale University. HARTLEY SIMPSON.

Gustav Adolf the Great. By NILS AHNLUND. Translated from the Swedish by MICHAEL ROBERTS. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation. 1940. Pp. ix, 314. $3.00.)

IT is to good purpose that from the crop of biographical studies which the tercentenary of Gustavus Adolphus's death on the battlefield of Lützen

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has produced this particular volume by Professor Ahnlund of the University of Stockholm has been singled out for translation. With a long list of other admirable studies on seventeenth century Sweden, among them one on Oxenstierna, already to his credit, no one is better equipped for the task the author has chosen in this volume. Georg Wittrock and Johannes Paul may have written completer or more detailed studies but none that are more scholarly or better calculated to appeal to a wide circle of readers than the present volume, which now occupies a commanding position among books in the English language on the great Swedish monarch. Strictly speaking, it is no biography in the ordinary sense but a powerful interpretative essay on the various facets of the personality and statesmanship of Gustavus Adolphus cast into a biographical mold, written with great economy of relevant materials and a maximum of critical and reflective comment. The structure of the book is firm and thoughtfully planned. Nowhere has this reviewer encountered a more accurate and finely etched portrait of Gustavus Adolphus, whose heroism, friendly irony, and reckless vigor soon made him a legend among Swedes and foreigners alike. Indeed, there are traces which indicate that the author himself now and then succumbs to this legend. He is at his best in the superb chapter on "The Problem of the Baltic", in which he pursues with equal penetration and clarity Sweden's Baltic policy between 1620 and 1630, the period, incidentally, to which he has devoted three other significant studies. By comparison the earlier and latter portions of the volume are less impressive, though the reader will be grateful for the refreshing analysis of Gustavus's Protestantism.

It may appear to be invidious criticism to point out serious omissions in a biographical essay of this sort. Yet what is one to think of a searching study on Gustavus Adolphus, who was nothing if not a great general, that contains no discussion of his military strategy or of Sweden's military organization? One may, perhaps, condone the absence of any discussion of Gustavus's impact on Sweden's economic life and administrative system, but the fact that the narrative tapers off sharply after 1630 with but a few comments on the last two most important years of the king's life leaves the reader with a keen sense of disappointment. The translation is not always felicitous. Not only are there a dozen sentences which frequent rereading will fail to make intelligible, but the translator's practice of refusing to anglicize the names of persons and places is not consistently adhered to.

Ohio State University. WALTER L. DORN.

English Scholars. By DAVID C. DOUGLAS, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Leeds. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1939. Pp. 381. 15*s*.)

AFTER printing several tantalizingly brief excerpts in *History,* Professor Douglas has contributed this splendid volume to the story of English life and thought. It is one of the best books of 1939.

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English Scholars deals with the seventy years following 1660 during which the first group of medievalists strove to recover and understand the early history of their country. It may not sound interesting. It is thrilling. For these men, notable scholars, were never anchorites and seldom residents of ivory towers watching the world go by. They were in the thick of the tumultuous events of their day: revolution, Puritan and "Glorious"; popery; nonconformity; non-jurorism; Jacobitism—rejoicing with victors, suffering with vanquished. Thus the book will interest varied types: the medievalist (for medieval England was what these men were seeking and finding); the student of seventeenth and eighteenth century England (for they were active participants in its political, religious, and intellectual life); and the student of biography and human nature (for most of these fellows were interesting and vigorous individuals, giving and taking like men and possessing characteristic assets, liabilities, and idiosyncracies of intellectuals in all ages). Finally, the book is well written, with a frequent felicity of expression or portrayal worthy of mention: Paternoster Row on Saturday afternoons in Anne's time; the "unqualified lust for the past which sent Hearne, the Oxford editor, a-whoring after antiquities", to be followed by the tragedy of 1715 when he, a non-juror, was locked from the Bodleian, never again to look on its glorious shelves; Rymer, destitute at twenty-two and for years pitifully disgraced by the exposure of his rebellious father's head on Doncaster pikes but rising to a great position which he had once described in these pert terms: "You are not to expect truth from an historiographer royal; it may drop from their pen by chance, but the general herd understand not their business"; the Jacobite Hickes, fleeing from house to house in disguise while working anywhere and everywhere on "the most elaborate treatise of historical philology that was ever devoted to the Anglo-Saxon language", until finally, "falling into a long illness, he remained unsettled for some months"; Dugdale in 1641, hurrying about feverishly to copy English memorials before the impending destruction of war in which he was soon to participate, suffer, and lose all but even in such troublous times seeking manuscripts and begetting not only nineteen children in twenty-four years but the great first volume of the *Monasticon* (1654).

Dugdale, Gale, Hickes, Wanley, Brady, Wharton, Madox, and Rymer are the main scholars treated; others are Somner, Thwaites, Nicolson, Gibson, Parker, Wake, and Wilkins. They were of varied sorts, but they had some things in common. Their scholarship was usually a pragmatic thing in its origin, however far afield they wandered in the course of their studies; for they wanted to find in England's past arguments for their present. "They were probing questions which concerned their personal honour and sometimes even their personal salvation." All had an abiding confidence in national experience, a reliance on fact, an indifference to suave expression, a distrust of theory, and a holy fear of loose generalization. They wanted evidence for belief, and they wanted it cold and hard, detached from elo-

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quence, doctrine, and abstract reasoning. "They sought truth in precedent and it was in relation to eternity that they studied time." Their reward was an English posterity with "an abiding consciousness of the living past".

If there is any criticism of the book, it is perhaps that the story is told—and read at least by this reviewer—with such zest and enthusiasm as to irradiate the period and the persons a little beyond historical reality.

Northwestern University. CLYDE L. GROSE.

Life of Captain Cook. By HUGH CARRINGTON. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. 1939. Pp. ix, 324. 16*s*.)

The Life and Achievements of Captain James Cook, R.N., F.R.S., Explorer, Navigator, Surveyor, and Physician. By Surgeon Rear-Admiral JOHN REID MUIR. (London: Blackie and Son. 1939. Pp. 310. 10*s*. 6*d*.)

IT is curious and unfortunate that a man of such notable achievement and remarkable character as Captain James Cook should not, during the century and a half since his death, have been made the subject of a full-length study either by a trained historian or a master of the art of literary portraiture. Neither of these two most recent biographies of Cook is entirely satisfactory when measured by the yardstick of critical scholarship, nor does either succeed in re-creating a vital character. This is not to say that both works are not eminently readable and of very distinct value. The enthusiasm of the two authors is infectious, their subject is intrinsically interesting, and each study embodies a number of really useful contributions to the knowledge and appreciation of Cook's work.

In point of scholarship Mr. Carrington's book is the more thorough of the two. Whereas Admiral Muir has been content to work almost entirely from published material, Mr. Carrington has made himself thoroughly familiar with the known documentary material. He has consulted at first hand the various collections in Australia and New Zealand as well as those in various English libraries, public and private. In fact the documentation of Mr. Carrington's work is more thorough than that of any of his predecessors, few of whom have bothered to cross the world in order to make a comprehensive survey of the widely scattered material. Mr. Carrington has made a careful comparative study of the various logs and journals and is unusually generous with citations from his sources. He has also brought to his study a firsthand knowledge of most of the places which Cook visited during his three voyages, and this gives to the narrative a realism which earlier studies have lacked. This local knowledge has also made it possible for Mr. Carrington to clear up the confusion which often arises from Cook's quaint renderings of native place names. Admiral Muir, on the other hand, has been content to take Cook's spellings as he finds them, leaving the reader to work out native and modern equivalents for himself.

While Mr. Carrington has been critical enough in his approach to sweep away many of the fables which have accumulated about Cook through the

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years (for example, the story of a narrow escape from Indians while surveying the St. Lawrence near Quebec), his handling of evidence and conduct of argument on controversial issues leaves something to be desired. His discussion of questions which have been raised as to Cook's proceedings on the eastern coast of Australia and the navigator's knowledge or otherwise of the sixteenth century Dieppe map showing land in this area is more emotional than logical, and the reader unfamiliar with the problems will be left wondering who Cook's Australian "detractors" are and just how their arguments constitute "shocking aspersions" on Cook's character. Mr. Carrington has the better side of the case on these issues but fails to make the most of it.

Admiral Muir is not greatly concerned with sources or with the settlement of small controversies over detail, although on the subject of naval rations in the eighteenth century and the victualing of Cook's ships he has dug out some extremely interesting material from documents which he refers to rather vaguely as "Victualling Letters" in the Public Record Office. His industry in investigating this question is an indication of his special interest in Cook's work for the prevention of scurvy and the general improvement of naval hygiene. The admiral may not be a professional historian, but as a professional physician he has been able to provide a most valuable discussion of the medical aspects of the great navigator's work. He paints a gloomy picture of the unsanitary conditions prevailing both in naval vessels and those of the mercantile marine in the eighteenth century when, through sheer uncleanliness and neglect of even those elementary principles of dietetics which were known at that time, disease was allowed to flourish unchecked at a terrific cost in terms of human life, not to mention efficiency. On long voyages, particularly, scurvy had come to be regarded as an inevitable danger and did in fact make a charnel house of many a ship adventuring in distant seas. Admiral Muir has made a careful study of Cook's pioneer efforts to eliminate this scourge and, in the light of modern knowledge of dietetics and hygiene, assesses the value of the measures he adopted. This discussion gives an indication of the magnitude of Cook's achievement in taking the *Endeavour Bark* on a three-year voyage round the world without losing a single life from scurvy and reveals Cook as a great explorer and scientist in a sense which has hitherto been insufficiently appreciated.

Institute of Pacific Relations. JACK SHEPHERD.

Montesquieu and English Politics, 1750-1800. By F. T. H. FLETCHER, Senior Lecturer in French in the University of Liverpool. (London: Edward Arnold and Company; New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1939. Pp. 286. $4.50.)

A student of literature rather than of history or politics, Dr. Fletcher sees in Montesquieu a "great genius" who rose "like a new star and cast its light into the dim places of English legal and political science", in some corners "fighting and overcoming the shadows of a great darkness", in others "dis-

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persing itself wanly in the twilight of unenlightened interpretation", in still others "beating in vain against the dead wall of utter intellectual night". Among the men in England in the eighteenth century influenced by the *Esprit des lois* were Blackstone, Bentham, Burke, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, John Brown, Sir Brook Boothby, and in fact almost all who wrote substantially on political subjects. The author uses the familiar method of comparing texts, sometimes perceiving borrowings, which he calls "plagiarisms" where other readers might detect no more than a similarity of thought or expression natural in writers treating similar subjects. Six preliminary chapters are devoted to Montesquieu as a writer and theorist; the remaining chapters deal with the British constitution: one is entitled "Separation of Powers"; others, "Social and Political Corruption and Reform", "Legal Corruption and Reform", "American Revolution", "India", "Slavery", "The French Revolution".

The purpose and plan of Dr. Fletcher's book is apparent from a statement in the introduction (p. 9): "The value and scope of any great genius remains concealed until his influence has been traced in the writings and actions of his successors." The author modestly confesses a lack of specialized study of "law, politics, political economy, &c." but pleads a "certain advantage in bringing to them the wonder and enthusiasm of a novice". This enthusiasm is scarcely a substitute for familiarity with the circumstantial facts that are a part of his story, and it may have inspired the unrestrained style in some passages. Apropos of Montesquieu's aphorism, "When the legislative shall be more corrupt than the executive, England shall perish", Dr. Fletcher comments (p. 26): "Through all the political literature of the time it beats out, regular and insistent as the bell on Inchcape, its warning to mariners on the sea of liberty. . . . When our own troubles were overshadowed, in their turn, by the still greater troubles of France, the political philosophy of Montesquieu once more emerged, like Aphrodite from the waves, and kissed immortality on the lips of Burke." Burke, however, does more than borrow from Montesquieu's famous work; "he feeds his very soul upon it and translates it into living action. For him it is no mere intellectual fodder; it is raw material, or better a spiritual essence, to be moulded into living forms" (p. 51). Not so Blackstone. Montesquieu may be "regarded as the founder of political economy", since in his work "for the first time are discussed, in a truly scientific and objective manner, without philosophical preconceptions, questions like the size and cause of increase or decrease of populations; the causes and remedies of pauperism; charitable relief; commerce; revenue and taxation, etc., exactly in the spirit of Adam Smith" (p. 52). When Blackstone treats of revenue, "it is a touching sight to see with what simple, childlike faith he clings to the precepts of his master Montesquieu". Even on the English constitution, the author of the *Commentaries* followed "faithfully . . . in the wake of Montesquieu".

There is ample evidence in Dr. Fletcher's book of the familiar fact that

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Montesquieu was widely read and frequently quoted by British political writers in the eighteenth century. For precise information concerning the undoubted influence of the celebrated Frenchman we shall have to look elsewhere.

Duke University. W. T. LAPRADE.

John Wilson Croker. By MYRON F. BRIGHTFIELD. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1940. Pp. xiii, 464. $3.50.)

IT was high time that someone wrote a biography of Croker, and it seems fortunate that a scholar not only so indefatigable but so systematic as Professor Brightfield first undertook the task. Croker's intense Tory partisanship, his proclivities for quiet maneuvering and violent attack, and the sorry impressions of him recorded in literature by Macaulay, Disraeli, and others, present dire temptations to a biographer. It would be so easy to make the man more "colorful" than "meaningful". Hence the severely topical method adhered to in this book has distinct advantages. And for another reason the method is especially suitable. Mr. Brightfield seems to have had comparatively little interest in Croker's personality or private life. His principal aim was to write "a chapter on the influence of politics on literature in England during the first half of the nineteenth century" with Croker as the center. Croker "more than any other man, set the tone and determined the character of nineteenth century editing" and at the same time "fitted" literature into the "frame" of Tory politics. For he was a very active politician and parliamentarian up to middle age, the more influential in being also a useful patron of the arts and sciences. The political side of his life is, with intention, handled rather sketchily here. The much more detailed treatment of the literary aspect brings us into familiar converse with the principal Tory publishers and men and women of letters of the time as well as with some who gave allegiance to the Whigs. In general, this part of the work is excellent.

Mr. Brightfield, however, sometimes displays the amiable fault of becoming a protagonist in ways that are not always amiable. He finds a "liberal" Tory in a man who declared that he would be acting "as an accessory after the fact to a crime" by sitting in the reformed parliament, condemned the first three French revolutions, followed Peel until 1846, and broke with him on the question of the corn laws. He attempts, by venturesome ascriptions of motives, to show that Croker's relations with Lord Hertford and the Duke of Cumberland were blameless if not beneficent; and he fails to discuss Wellington's apparent distrust of his supposedly devoted and valued follower. Moreover, in defending Croker against Macaulay's and Disraeli's onslaughts, he describes Monypenny as "infatuated" and accuses Sir G. O. Trevelyan of "meditated and unhurried slander . . . unqualified falsehood". Such passages are difficult to characterize.

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One would wish for a bibliography, for further references in the footnotes, and for a more adequate index. But authors are not always responsible for shortcomings in these respects, and Mr. Brightfield has earned much esteem and gratitude in more important ways.

Wesleyan University. HERBERT C. F. BELL.

Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution. By A. V. DICEY, of the Inner Temple, Formerly Vinerian Professor of English Law, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Ninth edition. With Introduction and Appendix by E. C. S. WADE, of the Inner Temple, Fellow and Tutor of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. clvi, 681. $5.00.)

THIS book appeared, in its original form, fifty-five years ago. Its great merits were recognized immediately. Adopted as a textbook for the study of politics at the leading universities and for the study of law at the inns of court, it acquired dominant authority, took a place—precociously—among the classics, and became, it has been said, almost a part of the British constitution. Dicey employed a literary style appropriate to authority. Besides being felicitous, he was as trenchant as a biblical prophet or another Euclid engaged in demonstrating the truth. Indeed, his principles were widely accepted, not as propositions that had to be proved but as axioms. He died in 1922, a few years after the publication of the eighth edition and before his gospel had encountered any widespread skepticism.

His main constitutional principles were three in number: the legal sovereignty of parliament, the rule of law, and the dependence of the understandings or conventions upon the action of the courts. Dr. Wade rejects the third principle in a clumsy fashion, without any awareness of the fundamental objections to it. Latterly the second principle has been subjected to damaging attacks, which are set forth with clarity. Almost to the end of his life Dicey held to what Professor Robson has called "one immense delusion"; he failed to discover in England, where the courts of justice could review official conduct, any approach to the French system of administrative law. In 1915 he did acknowledge that such a system seemed to be taking shape. The truth is that, in its earlier stage of growth, the phenomenon had attracted little attention and that, even twenty-five years ago, the disposition of governments to regulate individual behavior and entrust legislative and quasi-judicial powers to officials had only begun to assume notable proportions. Dicey was slow in detecting the new tendency and in realizing its significance. The developments of recent years have gone far to invalidate his rule-of-law doctrine; and without revision of some kind his text would resemble one of those ancient ports of Kent from which the sea has subsided. Dr. Wade has performed a necessary and a difficult task and done so, on the whole, effectively. In pointing out Dicey's mistakes, which afterwisdom

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has revealed, he might, perhaps, have been more generous. While not indulging in the cheap sarcasms of Professor Robson, he has damned with faint praise. He concedes that "much of what Dicey wrote is of interest and value to-day" and that there is less need to apologize for shortcomings than to inquire how far the Dicey principles can be applied to the existing situation. He leans heavily upon Jennings, as something like a hundred citations make clear, and yet describes Jennings as the most formidable and devastating of Dicey's critics.

The editor of a classic like *The Law of the Constitution* should tamper with no word of the text and limit himself to commentary. Dr. Wade does take some minor liberties, particularly in modifying many of Dicey's footnotes without any indication that he has done so and in suppressing most of Dicey's appendix without regard to relative values. On the whole, however, his attitude has been correct. It would be vandalism, he says, to reproduce Dicey in modern guise. Changes in the text, which can be discovered only by a careful comparison with the original version, are slight though hard to justify. The editor contributes a preface, a long introduction of 130 pages, a still longer appendix—these amounting in the aggregate to more than a third of the volume—and a new index which is by no means an improvement on the old one. In the introduction he examines and appraises the constitutional doctrines of Dicey like a Robert Elsmere who can no longer believe in the divine inspiration of Job. It is in the appendix that he shows to best advantage. His exposition of administrative law is sound. He has included in it a statement of French practice by Professor René David of Grenoble.

Although capable of clarity and logical acuteness, Dr. Wade sometimes becomes confusing and almost incoherent. It is in the introduction that obscurity is most often encountered. In comparing his own style of oratory with Gladstone's, John Bright said that, whereas he himself moved from headland to headland, the Grand Old Man followed the sinuosities of the coast and, coming to the mouth of a river, could not resist the temptation to follow it to its source. Dr. Wade does not always make the headlands stand out. His perspective is not always accurate. Occasionally he misunderstands or misrepresents Dicey, accusing him of sins that he did not commit; and in the more flagrant cases the puzzled reader goes over a passage again and again, thinking that he must have misunderstood Wade.

Pomona College. EDWARD MCCHESNEY SAIT.

Parliament. By W. IVOR JENNINGS, Reader in English Law in the University of London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xiii, 548. $6.00.)

NOWADAYS the writer on government runs the risk that events may overtake him and make what he says out of date or even wipe out the institu-

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tions which he has just described. As he looks back on the comprehensive treatise which he published a few weeks before the outbreak of the second world war, Mr. Jennings may be comfortably complacent. Tested by the crisis of the war, the Mother of Parliaments has seemed to take a new lease on life. The old lady has shown much greater vitality than she seemed to have at the time of Munich or during the depressing year that preceded the German attack on Poland.

There has been an electoral truce. For seven months the parliamentary opposition largely devoted itself to pressing the government toward a more vigorous prosecution of the war and then, when Neville Chamberlain and his inner cabinet were shelved, accepted office in a coalition cabinet. Tremendous legislative power has been handed over to the executive, and parliament, not unsuccessfully, has sought to tame it by a more vigorous questioning of ministers than ever before in history and, on a series of matters, adjournment debates which gave the opposition a chance to attack and compelled the government to defend. The change of government last May and later reshapings were due in large measure to pressure by the house of commons.

Not since Sir William Anson's notable volumes has parliament been the subject of such a comprehensive treatise. Sir William was chiefly interested in form and custom. Mr. Jennings is primarily concerned with the realities of the interests of members, pressure groups, party manipulation and control, the sources of laws, the technique of opposition, finance, private bill legislation, delegations of power to the executive, and parliamentary control over and influence on the cabinet.

Despite the wealth of materials which he has had to examine, Mr. Jennings is able to take his reader through the maze of parliamentary procedure without losing him. There is a good deal of the past in order to explain the present. Biographies and diaries have been well combed for illustrative incidents. Despite the mass of detail, the slips are few, and when a second edition is called for, not many statements of fact will have to be corrected. Mr. Jennings will revise some of his remarks on the speaker in the light of the 1939 select committee's report, and he will not say that the chairman of such a committee is nominated by the house when, as a matter of fact, he is chosen by his fellow members. This makes select committees more independent of the cabinet and the house. Nor are there in this volume as many generalizations which fail to secure assent as there were in Mr. Jenning's *Cabinet Government*. Perhaps this is the case because parliamentary institutions are less crepuscular than are cabinet institutions. In both volumes the style, while it rarely scintillates, is always easy and fluent.

Columbia University. LINDSAY ROGERS.

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Treaty Relations of the British Commonwealth of Nations. By ROBERT B. STEWART, Instructor in Government, Harvard University. With a Foreword by W. Y. Elliott. [Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xxi, 503. $5.00.)

EVENTS in Europe are enhancing, by contrast, the importance to us, among the "things that remain", of the relationships to one another of the British nations. Here, in continuous and obtrusive contrast to naked power politics, is a system of international relations which is founded upon and operated through good will and yet actually works. How did such a system develop? Clearly the field offers a host of problems and many different points of approach for historians with various major types of interest. There is the analysis of the various psychological factors underlying these relationships and of the policies and the interests which rendered their development possible. More obviously, there is the evolution of the institutional relationships themselves. Thus far the latter field has virtually monopolized attention.

Dr. Stewart has done an excellent piece of work on the specific phase of the subject which he has chosen. As the title suggests, the scope of his study is confined to that aspect of the conduct of British Empire foreign relations represented by the technique of treaty making. But here developments within the narrower field correlate with the broader constitutional evolution of the Commonwealth. While from the standpoint of internal organization a unitary empire was being transmuted into a loosely-bound but strongly-allied confederacy of nations, there was a corresponding, though more retarded, process of decentralization in the British league's external relations. As regards the conduct of negotiations, the steps were: association of Dominion representatives with British in an advisory capacity, then as coplenipotentiaries, and finally (after the Canadian coup d'état in the matter of the Halibut Treaty) complete devolution of negotiations upon them and the end of imperial diplomatic unity. As regards the effect of treaties, the stages were: so drawing the terms of commercial treaties as to allow optional inclusion of the several Dominions, adapting existing treaties to the same principle, providing for optional inclusion in political treaties (*e.g.*, the Locarno Pact), and finally, allowing each British nation to conduct its own affairs independently, subject only to agreement to keep all the others informed of its intentions and acts.

Dr. Stewart traces the various aspects of this development in a series of well-organized chapters. He is on surest ground in discussing the more strictly technical phases of his subject, particularly the changes in the forms relevant to the conduct of negotiations. The more purely historical chapters have a less firm touch. Although analysis of the political background was beyond the scope of this particular study, yet changes in imperial diplomatic procedure were reflections of a wider movement toward Dominion participa-

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tion, and the more thoroughly this setting has been absorbed, the more sharply can the author etch particular happenings. Especially is it important to bear in mind that all discussions of the period were colored by the perfectly rational, though now almost forgotten, alternative of the federal, as well as the confederate, solution for problems of imperial relationships.

Two or three incidental comments may be in order. In criticizing Lord Durham for his allegedly futile effort to distinguish imperial from domestic affairs in the organization of colonial government (pp. 45-46), the author falls into the elementary error of uncritical reliance upon Ewart and of ignoring the federationists' contribution to the problem. Actually such a distinction has been faced by all framers of federal systems and on the whole with at least workable results. Again, in his discussion of Canada's part in the Halibut Treaty with the United States and the Lausanne Treaty negotiations, a fairer picture would surely be presented had he noted the extent to which the Canadian government appears to have kept Downing Street in the dark as to its viewpoint and intentions prior to these coups d'état. In connection with empire tariff discussions at the 1887 Colonial Conference (p. 83) it should be noted that, although imperial preference necessarily implied tariff reform in Britain, yet until the shift in Chamberlain's viewpoint, some time in 1902, it was assumed that an imperial tariff union could be accomplished without adoption of protectionism in Britain itself. What would Sir John A. Macdonald say of the author's view that Canadian relations to the Washington Treaty negotiations evidenced full and complete consultation? Again, in the treatment of the discussion of consultation in relation to political treaties, at the 1911 Imperial Conference, the diverse viewpoints of Asquith, Laurier, and Ward might have been more clearly elucidated (pp. 129 ff.).

While the setting and the implications of many of the principal episodes in the development of Dominion treaty relations might perhaps have been more clearly expounded, the author has presented us with a very serviceable and timely contribution. The various phases of a wide subject are treated in well-organized fashion within one volume. Especially valuable are his data on the forms and techniques of treaty making. An appendix of almost a hundred pages comprises examples of the chief instruments in use, and there is a brief bibliography.

Brooklyn College. A. Gordon Dewey.

The Second Duma: A Study of the Social-Democratic Party and the Russian Constitutional Experiment. By Alfred Levin. [Yale Historical Publications, Leonard Woods Labaree, Editor.]. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. viii, 414. $3.00.)

In an era when parliamentarism is in eclipse in many parts of the globe it is only to be expected that scholars should concern themselves more

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than heretofore with parliamentary history. In the field of Russian history Mr. Levin's book is the first manifestation of this new interest.

In a session of three months the second duma produced no less than four thousand columns of minutes of speeches made in the parliament. In his systematic and analytic grouping of the parliamentary debates Mr. Levin condenses them to 250 pages and ably summarizes the debates on the organization of the duma, famine relief, unemployment, agrarian policy, the budget, the army, and the field-courts-martial. It is, however, the subtitle of the book which indicates the author's main interest. To be exact, the work is chiefly valuable as a study of the role of the Social Democratic party in the second duma. In that respect, as a contribution to the history of political parties in Russia, the author has set a high standard for future studies of a similar type. Generally speaking, the divergences between the Cadets and the socialists seem to be somewhat overemphasized. In reality there was often very little difference between Cadets and extreme leftists. Together they formed a radical majority. From the author's own "Conclusion" (chapter xv), in which the Cadet party is rightly described as "the spearhead of parliamentary liberalism", many a reader might conclude that this party rather than the Social Democratic should have been made the center of a study dealing with "the Russian constitutional experiment".

Because of a certain underestimation of the importance of the juridical aspects and implications of a topic dealing with parliamentary history Stolypin's particular theory of Russian constitutional government, as something essentially different from a Russian experiment in constitutionalism following Western pattern, is disregarded. The résumé of Stolypin's great opening speech on March 19, 1907 (a translation of which is to be found in M. Schlesinger, *Russland im 20. Jahrhundert,* Berlin, 1908), is too short to make apparent that this speech represents a landmark in the history of Russian legislation and that it contains, in fact, the whole program of legislative measures enacted during the next few years and is indispensable for the understanding of the Stolypin era. It is this speech alone which makes the second duma memorable.

A discussion of the work done in the field of Russian public law and of German and French contributions to the history of Russian parliamentarism (by Pierre Chasles, Anton Palme, and others) would have been helpful in explaining the place of the second duma in Russian constitutional history. The author does not touch, for instance, upon Max Weber's brilliant but one-sided arguments exposing Russia's change from autocracy to a system of pseudo constitutionalism *(Scheinkonstitutionalismus)*. The use of German printed materials would have enabled him to throw an interesting light on the interrelations of German and Russian social democrats. Although the author differentiates between the first and the second duma, regarding the first as really belonging to the chaotic, active period of the revolution, it

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would probably be more appropriate to look at them as a unit. The third and the fourth duma, on the contrary, belong to the counterrevolutionary period inaugurated by the promulgation of the new electoral law of June 16, 1907, the day of the dissolution of the second duma.

Among several appendixes a list of the members of the Social Democratic "fraction" and a note on the development of the national social democratic parties (the Jewish, Polish, Latvian, and Armenian) are to be found. The author does not explain why he uses old style for the dates in his book or the odd Russian phonetic spelling of non-Russian family names (for instance, Gershelmann and Gerie instead of Hoerschelmann and Guerrier).

Cambridge, Massachusetts. FRITZ T. EPSTEIN.

Searchlight on German Africa: The Diaries and Papers of Dr. W. Ch. Regendanz; A Study in Colonial Ambitions. By F. W. PICK. With a Foreword by G. P. Gooch. (London: George Allen and Unwin; New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1939. Pp. xiii, 177. 5*s.*; $1.50.)

DR. Pick's edition of this diary is an interesting contribution to the literature of German prewar expansion. As a civil servant and later as secretary of the Hamburg-Marokko-Gesellschaft, Dr. Regendanz represents the basic outlook of German imperialism. Granted a leave of absence by the colonial office, he joined the propaganda and pressure group founded by the Hamburg banker, Max Warburg, to work for the acquisition of Moroccan territory. Although Regendanz was passionately interested in acquiring a Moroccan colony for Germany and "supplied the weapons to be used by the Foreign Office in its defence of Germany's actions", he had at that time never visited that land to study its economic realities. In the crisis of 1911 it was Regendanz, according to his own admission, and not the Mannesmann brothers, who supplied the pressure and arguments to the government to send the *Panther* and the *Berlin* to Agadir to protect German lives and property. Since there were no German nationals in that port to be protected, Regendanz also provided "the endangered German", who arrived four days after the battleships had anchored in the harbor. Visiting southern Morocco during the crisis to acquire an agricultural colony, he arrived at the conclusion that Morocco had no great economic value and advised the government to withdraw its warships and claims. According to Dr. Pick, the German government obeyed this request. This point, however, cannot be substantiated by the chronology of documents in *Die grosse Politik*. Regendanz and his Hamburg banker associates then turned their attention to Mozambique and in 1914 acquired a tremendous concession around Lake Nyasa from the Portuguese government and the English-controlled Nyasa Consolidated, Ltd. The most important part of the book is the history of this "shadow colony" and the postwar attempts to revive it until the claim expired in 1929.

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In the discussion of the Agadir crisis the diary provides an interesting side light but does not alter the fundamental picture as presented in Miss Barlow's recent study. Since the book consists of the diary of one participant, it avoids a discussion either of the continuity of German policy in Morocco from the time of the Anglo-German conversations of 1898 or the whole context of the European imperialist situation in 1911. By not mentioning the traditional German policy of bargaining in Morocco or the English intervention of 1911, Dr. Pick uses presumptive evidence to make Regendanz appear solely responsible for the German action. In the case of the "shadow colony" in Nyasaland the book adds material for an understanding of the Anglo-German Agreement of 1914 which does not appear in the official documents as well as providing material for the study of the methods and objectives of German imperialism.

City College, New York. FRANCIS T. WILLIAMSON.

The Agadir Crisis. By IMA CHRISTINA BARLOW, Associate Professor of History, West Texas State Teachers College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1940. Pp. vi, 422. $4.00.)

THE diplomatic background of the war of 1914-1918 has lost its freshness as a field of research, but Miss Barlow's book nevertheless serves a useful purpose. It is the first full-scale study of the Agadir Crisis to appear in print since Hartung's much briefer essay of more than a decade ago. Given the author's main theme—the conflict of interests and policies of the major powers concerned, especially Germany, France, and Great Britain—the documentation is fully adequate, for it is unfortunately likely that the great series of French diplomatic documents, which had not yet reached 1911 before the outbreak of the present war, has been indefinitely suspended. For the part played by public opinion, whose importance is appreciated, the author has relied upon the available studies of the newspaper press and has used a few of the principal newspapers. There is, however, no pretense, since the otherwise admirable bibliography includes no newspapers, at an exhaustive treatment of this aspect of the question.

Even more praiseworthy than her industry is the author's fairness in dealing with controversial questions. The book was completed in July, 1939, but there is scarcely a trace of bias in the preface or elsewhere. Where the evidence seems sufficiently convincing there is no hesitation in differing with accepted interpretations, as in the conclusion that the French expedition to Fez was justified and that Kiderlen-Wächter, like the Pan-Germans, probably hoped at first to acquire a part of Morocco (a view with which the reviewer agrees), or in assessing blame upon individuals for serving their country badly or endangering the peace. The author condemns Kiderlen for the *Panther's* spring at Agadir, Grey for his failure to give Germany time to reply to his request for information on June 21, and Lloyd George for his

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Mansion House speech, but her disapproval of British statesmen is expressed more vividly—a practice that is not without precedent. While a refreshing relief from the colorless narrative of many monographs, these value-judgments are dangerous. To speak of the "spasm of terror that gripped Churchill" is astonishing, to say the least, and it is surely an exaggeration to say that the British were "sick with neurotic fear" and that Grey was in "the clutches of a panicky fear".

The story of the crisis itself is introduced by an analysis of the Moroccan background, of the situation created by the Algeciras Convention, and by an account of the failure to achieve the economic co-operation provided for by the Franco-German Accord of 1909, which might have been condensed without disadvantage. There is also an adequate treatment of the activities of the Mannesmann brothers. Between the obvious importance of Morocco, especially during the development of the crisis, and the emergence of larger issues during the crisis itself, such as the preservation of the Entente Cordiale, there is an evolution of which the author is perhaps not sufficiently aware. It is a question whether the foreign policy of a country can be deciphered from the diplomatic correspondence and other materials written during a comparatively brief crisis. There are a few typographical errors, and the footnotes are sometimes confusing, but these are minor imperfections of a worthwhile book.

Duke University. E. Malcolm Carroll.

Aus meinem Leben, 1866-1917. Von Hans von Seeckt. Unter Verwendung des schriftlichen Nachlasses im Auftrage von Frau Dorothee von Seeckt herausgegeben von Generalleutnant Dr. h.c. Friedrich von Rabenau, Chef der Heeresarchive. (Leipzig: v. Hase & Koehler Verlag. 1938. Pp. 640. 12.50 M.)

It is perhaps in keeping with the *Sprachverwilderung,* the wild growth of language often observable in the literature of the Third Reich, that a biography in the strictest life and letters style is given this Goethean title of an autobiography by the head of all the army archives. But as soon as the feeling inspired by this oddity is overcome, there emerges an immensely informative source on the history of the Prussian army and the World War up to November, 1917. At this point the biographer stops, but the later Seeckt, rebuilder of the German army and instigator of still later politico-military developments in Germany, is fascinatingly foreshadowed. Shadows fall from this book that bridge over the space of twenty-three years. Early in 1916 Seeckt pronounced himself against the Liberal demand for a shorter service term and at about the same time looked forward to the founding of a labor party which would remain national and co-operate with the government, an anticipation of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, though this is apt to be overlooked since the child quickly got out

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of the hands of governments hopefully provided by the Hindenburgs and the Hugenbergs. Representing a typical conviction in general staff circles, Seeckt was strongly in favor of a continued partition of Poland as the price of friendship with Russia and of a separate peace with that country, whose power he estimated very highly. Mitteleuropa he wanted about as early as Naumann, a Mitteleuropa which would stand over against an America that would not be in that war but in the next, an America which had been up to then "by far our most dangerous enemy". "Next time America stands openly on the side of our adversaries. . . . How should such a war be led? America itself is for us unattackable and, until technology supplies totally new arms, England as well. The latter can be more forcibly struck in its limbs than in its heart. Consequently, the road to Asia must be free. The chain of my wishes is closing; we must have a field of domination from the Atlantic as far as Persia", a Reich of autarchy with Greece, Rumania, Belgium, Turkey, Holland, and the Nordic states invited to join in such a way that they can hardly decline (pp. 259-60).

On the whole, Seeckt emerges more as a politician than as an officer, if we mean by that a military expert. But these things can never be kept apart very long in a member of the Berlin general staff. He is an enemy of Bethmann Hollweg and the Bethmann diplomats like Lichnowsky and Wolff-Metternich. The antagonism between Seeckt, as a noble officer with outspoken sympathies for the Junkers, and *roturiers* like Hoffmann and Groener is so strong that even a harmonizing biography cannot suppress it (pp. 445, 603), nor the opportune cat-like shift which brought Seeckt from Falkenhayn's camp over to that of Hindenburg-Ludendorff. Ambition, politics of a conservativeness not always moderate, and disputatiousness are the strongest features in the portrait of an officer who, despite the communication of any number of familiar letters, still preserves the enigmatic shape in which Seeckt stalked through the Weimar Republic. "Seeckt's figure was surrounded by something of mystery. His greatest secret withal was that most of the time he had none." With this dictum his biographer opens his work, but he stops short of the truly mysterious part of the *Generaloberst's* life, that after 1918.

Institute of Advanced Study. ALFRED VAGTS.

Le Isole Italiane dell'Egeo dall'occupazione alla sovranità. By RENZO SERTOLI SALIS. (Rome: Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano. 1939. Pp. 371. 40 l.)

Il nodo di Gibuti. By FRANCESCO SALATA. [Collezione, Interessi e naturali aspirazioni del popolo italiano, Volume I.] (Milan: Istituto per gli studi di politica internazionale. 1939. Pp. x, 339. 15 l.)

THE first of these books, recounting in considerable detail how Italy came to secure a clear title to the possession of the Dodecanese (the Dodecanese

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proper, Rhodes, and Castelrosso), illustrates how temporary occupations of territory may evolve into permanent ownership. First occupied during the Tripolitan war, the Dodecanese was held as a guarantee of the execution of the terms of peace. But, in addition to the fact that it was always possible to debate whether "the last Turkish soldier had been withdrawn from Cyrenaica", further complications soon arose as the interests of the other powers became involved. This phase, which gives the book much of its importance, is properly analyzed, but more emphasis might be laid on the position of Germany, caught between Italy and Turkey. The Italo-Turkish war had direct repercussions in the Balkans, and the Balkan wars in turn furnished reasons for continued occupation. In 1914 Italy still held the islands, and the Treaty of London of 1915 promised her full possession.

Nationalism was one of the guiding principles of the Peace Conference of 1919, and the Dodecanese sought union with Greece. Salis does not do justice to this phase, which cannot be dismissed as the work of misguided or self-seeking *émigrés* or by speaking of the *italianissimo* Dodecanese. However, in 1919-20 Italy was not pursuing a vigorous expansionist policy, and she agreed to turn over the islands (except Rhodes) to Greece. But the Anatolian settlement of 1920 was stillborn, and Italy ultimately secured definite possession. Since then the islands have been increasingly assimilated to the home regime, and their function as an outpost of empire has become more clearly defined, a situation of equal concern to Britain and Turkey.

Diplomatic history such as this derives its chief value from completeness and accuracy; it is regrettable, therefore, that loose references and occasional mistakes should occur. The American Territorial Report of January 21, 1919 (not January 2), recommended that the Greeks be *not* given a foothold in Asia Minor; the author seems to have overlooked the negative (p. 245) and repeatedly misstates the American position. Pages 212, 248, 250, 253, among others, contain erroneous statements and incorrect footnotes referring to the writings of D. H. Miller, H. N. Howard, Harold Nicolson, and the present reviewer. These do not seriously affect the general treatment, but they impair the value of what might have been the definitive treatment of this particular question.

Italy had no rivals among the Great Powers for possession of the Dodecanese, but in Jibuti it is a question of wresting ownership from France; moreover, Great Britain is the only other power seriously interested in this problem, and the story is still in the making. By following the diplomacy of this issue from its inception to the present, Salata seeks to establish the thesis that Italy has long-standing claims to the territory which have been thwarted in the main by "malevolent" French machinations. British, French, and Italian imperialisms clashed around the headwaters of the Nile, and each contestant could no doubt easily write the story of the clash in such terms. The book is nevertheless a valuable contribution, for

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the author devotes by far the main portion of his work to a conscientious recital of diplomatic exchanges, and he has had access to the unpublished Italian documents. Those for the period from 1914 to 1919, given in the appendix, are of the greatest importance.

That the Italians had their eyes on Jibuti is unquestionable, but it is hard to see how they could have entertained seriously the hope of wresting it from France in view of the latter's obstinate and repeatedly stated position from 1915 to 1919. The fact that the Italian memorandum of colonial claims was never submitted to the Peace Conference shows a relative lack of interest in colonies, as does the above-mentioned willingness to reliquish the Dodecanese to Greece in 1919-20. That Italian diplomacy in 1919 was very poor is undeniable, but Salata's account of the work of Sonnino and Tittoni, while it supplies further evidence of this fact, is neither very satisfactory nor convincing. Coming to more recent events, one can only regret that Salata discusses but does not publish the purported secret letter of M. Laval to Signor Mussolini of January, 1935, on the subject of Abyssinian policy.

One should bear in mind the limitations to which Italian writers on topics such as those treated in these books are subject and the influence of myths which have been fostered deliberately. Nevertheless it remains true that Italian colonial policy, though slow in getting under way, has had fairly consistent aims. We are indebted to the interest which recent events have created in the origins of this policy for studies such as these, which, pending the publication of the Italian documents, make it possible to trace its outlines with ever-increasing clarity.

New York City. RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ.

What Germany Forgot. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. vi, 152. $1.50.)

THIS little book was begun as an introduction to a volume, *The Cost of the World War to the Central Powers,* by Dr. Leo Grebler and Professor Wilhelm Winkler, which is a statistical supplement to the series, The Economic and Social History of the World War, edited by Professor Shotwell. The issues there treated have, however, acquired even greater importance since the outbreak of the present war and are now surveyed in a new light. Mr. Shotwell's title does not convey a very clear notion of the contents of the book, but his argument is quite simple.

In the first place, the Germans have erroneously ascribed all their troubles in the last twenty years to the "Diktat" of Versailles and have assumed that the victorious powers were suffering far less than the vanquished. Actually, this is sheer mythology. The burden of taxation in Germany after 1919 was only a quarter as heavy as the burden in Great Britain, only a half as heavy as in France or Canada. Germany's claims that she was ruined by reparations is not justified. Instead of having paid 56,577,000,000 gold marks, plus

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the amounts paid under the Dawes and Young plans, as she contends, Germany paid, "according to a competent and disinterested American calculation", 21,585,000,000 gold marks—and Germany herself, in her counterproposals of May 29, 1919, offered to pay 100,000,000,000 marks! Furthermore, Germany borrowed in the United States more than twice the amount which she paid on account of reparations. What really ruined Germany was not reparations, nor the Treaty of Versailles as a whole, but the World War. To prosecute that war the German government floated loans to the amount of 98,000,000,000 marks (or four times the amount paid in reparations), and Mr. Shotwell estimates the total cost of the war to Germany at the colossal figure of 100,000,000,000 dollars. But the Germans, instead of recognizing that in the face of these losses they could not maintain the living standards which prevailed before 1914, put the blame for everything on the "treachery" of the Allies. In particular, they read into Article 231 an accusation of moral guilt, whereas, as Mr. Shotwell is entirely justified in asserting, that famous article laid down "just a matter-of-fact basis for a legal claim". This is proved not only by the minutes of the commission which drafted the article but also by the fact, generally ignored, that the same language is used, *mutatis mutandis,* in the treaties with Austria and Hungary.

In the second place, on the political side, the German people gave itself over to the delusion that the German army had not been defeated in the battlefield: the returning soldiers were greeted by cheering crowds and had garlands hung on their rifles, thus receiving "the plaudits that are ordinarily accorded to victorious troops". Consequently, the old tradition of militarism was not broken, and a genuine sentiment for peace was not established. This, in Mr. Shotwell's opinion, was "a catastrophe for the world far greater than any defeat in battle which history records", for "the nation that needed above all others in modern Europe to understand the nature of war" failed to learn its lesson.

Mr. Shotwell disclaims any desire to defend the Treaty of Versailles in all its particulars. He certainly makes a strong case, however, for the view that Germany has sinned much more than she has been sinned against.

University of Chicago. BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Papers and Documents relating to the Foreign Relations of Hungary. Published by the Royal Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Collected and edited by Prof. FRANCIS DEÁK, Columbia University, New York, and DEZSÖ UJVÁRY, Secretary of Legation, Budapest. Volume I, *1919-1920.* (Budapest: Royal Hungarian University Press; New York: Columbia University Press, American agent. 1939. Pp. xxii, 1079. $5.00.)

THIS admirably edited volume is an invaluable source for the understanding of Hungary's difficult foreign relations during the year and a half from Béla Kun's flight and the re-establishment of constitutional govern-

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ment in August, 1919, to the end of 1920. To reach a wider circle of readers, documents in the Magyar language have fortunately been translated into English; correspondence in French and German has been printed in the original. Following the 895 telegrams and dispatches which form the bulk of the volume, there are added three appendixes: a very interesting eighty-page selection from the Diary of the Hungarian Peace Delegation which was kept by Count Stephen Csáky; the statute concerning the re-establishment of constitutional order; and several eloquent debates in the Hungarian parliament concerning the country's hard but inescapable fate. Historians will also be grateful for the excellent index of names and subjects.

After imposing peace treaties on Germany and Austria and thereby laying down the general lines of settlement in central Europe, the Allies had to deal with Hungary. On January 16, 1920, Count Apponyi, who headed the Hungarian Peace Delegation at Versailles, spoke for an hour and a quarter in English, French, and Italian, explaining his country's attitude on the peace terms which had been handed to him the day before. As usual, with his extraordinary linguistic facility, he made a remarkably favorable impression. Although M. Clemenceau had decided "that no discussion could follow Count Apponyi's speech, Lloyd George, to the great surprise of everyone, asked leave to speak and inquired from Count Apponyi as to the condition and number of Hungarians in the territories to be detached". Count Apponyi produced a map and statistics and was soon surrounded by the representatives of the Allied Powers, who listened with great interest, and "even Clemenceau, though reluctantly", joined the group.

Little, however, was accomplished in the way of modifying the terms to which the Allies were committed by the settlements already made. After three months a member of the Hungarian delegation noted that "the representatives of the western Powers are frightfully bored by the whole Peace Conference. They feel increasingly that they have gotten into a labyrinth from which they cannot find a way out, and that they have created in the peace treaties a great number of new international problems which they will not know how to solve. One of these problems, and perhaps the principal one, is of course the Hungarian question." The only ray of hope, and that a slight one, was the accompanying letter, which commented on some of Hungary's requests and urged that her delegation receive authorization to sign the treaty within ten days. The letter hinted that, after signature, there might be some amelioration of the hard terms. But the Hungarian delegation, unwilling to advise signature, resigned, and the Hungarian parliament then reluctantly approved signature on June 4 and ratification on November 15, 1920.

Parallel with these official negotiations there went forward a private negotiation, which is the most interesting episode in the whole volume. M. Halmos, a Paris lawyer and special Hungarian agent, had extensive

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confidential conversations with M. Paléologue, supposedly representing the French government as political director, and with M. Sauveur, a leading Schneider-Creusot director. Paléologue's idea was to base French eastern policy not on Poland and the Little Entente but on Hungary and to create a Danubian economic federation under French leading strings. The Hungarians in good faith were ready to surrender control over their railways and Kreditbank to Schneider-Creusot and French economic interests. In return Paléologue would secure political concessions for Hungary in regard to boundaries, rearmament, and other matters. He declared that he was laying his cards frankly on the table, but in the end the Hungarians doubted whether this was really the case. He demanded immediate agreement on the economic advantages which France was to receive but was increasingly vague as to the political *quid pro quo* which he said would have to be worked out in the future. Furthermore, he apparently did not fully inform either his own government or the English and the Italians, to say nothing of Hungary's immediate neighbors. When Lord Curzon got wind of the affair, he expressed the opinion that "the French have played a shady game with the Hungarians". Ultimately the whole negotiation fell through when Paléologue was replaced by M. Berthelot.

Nearly half the documents relate to a great variety of subjects arising out of the war: repatriation of soldiers and prisoners; division of Austro-Hungarian state property; "atrocities" committed by Czechs, Rumanians, and Serbs in the separated territories; recognition of Hungary by other powers; the escape of Béla Kun from Austria and the danger of Bolshevism; and the treatment of minorities. These documents throw interesting light on postwar international procedure as well as on Hungary's own great difficulties.

Harvard University. SIDNEY B. FAY.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Indians of the United States: Four Centuries of their History and Culture. By CLARK WISSLER. [The American Museum of Natural History Science Series.] (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1940. Pp. xvi, 319. $3.75.)

THE book before us stands out among several recent general treatments of the Indians of this hemisphere. Too often journalists have assumed that specialists are incapable of presenting the pageant of aboriginal America without recourse to technical language. Therefore, with no peculiar qualifications for the job save an urge to write and an opportunity to publish, and more often having an axe to grind, writers have produced Indian books for lay readers. The results have been diffuse, colorless, and sadly out of focus both historically and psychologically. Wissler has no axe to grind. He stands

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at the peak of a long career of study and field work among the Plains Indians and of writing, teaching, and museum administration with the object of making his fellow man more familiar with the Indians of history. Wissler has proved that a scientist can write interestingly of the Indians of the frontier, their struggle to stave off white aggression, their mode of life, the changes that it underwent during white contact, and the great Indian personalities of the time. I commend this work to general readers and students who feel the need of an introductory book on the Indian peoples of our country, and even mature scholars can benefit from Wissler's breadth of perspective.

Having previously treated the American Indian by culture areas, Wissler organizes his present work around a different scheme—the concept of the frontier. From postglacial times forward he steadily envisages America as a pioneer country whose inhabitants continuously encroached on a frontier. At first this frontier was pushed back from Alaska, but after white settlement it shifted from the Atlantic seaboard toward the West, where the Indians were its outstanding feature. Logically, his book falls into three parts: the aboriginal pioneers of prehistoric America and their basic culture; the great Indian linguistic families, whose modes of life and historic fates he treats in interesting relief; and Indian life in general, including demography, a nice appraisal of family hunting economy, and various aspects of culture change attending the onset of reservation life. Finally, there is an impressive inventory of basic discoveries and inventions, culture traits which the Indians had devised without benefit of Eurasian contacts, "which should impress the money minded that the Indian contributed greatly to the well being of the world for which he is threatened with extinction".

The volume is well indexed, but it lacks documentation. Nor is there a bibliography, and only a brief list of general ethnological series is suggested for readers seeking further enlightenment. Wissler, however, appends answers to questions which museum visitors most frequently ask, and these should prove satisfactory for this level of interest.

Few mature scholars who read this book will fail to rise to occasional flashes of Wisslerian insight which illumine its pages and observations which come only from a mind that has long ago learned to interpret new evidence in terms of what ethnological research has established. Wissler's preoccupation with distributions and diffusion and his arguments of necessary presupposition, for example, that stoneboiling presupposes containers (p. 13), will seem strange to those who have not been made to feel the importance of these phenomena for historical process. Also his apt illustrations of the conservatism of cultural patterns, such as that stoneboilers would at first put hot stones in brass kettles (p. 15), illustrate how men at all levels of culture cling to established behavior. Wissler's agrarian background emerges in a wholesome appraisal of the role of domesticated plants in the cultural growth of all the great civilizations of the world (p. 27).

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The approach to tribal history by grouping tribes into linguistic families is novel. While easily understood, the classification has historical implications of age and area since the major language families occupy large blocks of contiguous territory or are divided by other stocks whose intrusion is probably more recent, as is the case of the Iroquois between the Algonkins north of the Great Lakes and the related tribes of New England and the Middle Atlantic states. The treatment of the Indian wars of New England is particularly well done, and Wissler offers some nice historical problems which need research, showing particularly the need of a general book on the culture of the Delaware, whose removal to Ohio he handles well. While he makes discriminating interpretative use of the facts of geography, ecology, and ethnology, the historian may occasionally call him to task for his use of historical facts. In the time of Champlain the Iroquois were not harassing the Algonkins (p. 96); the reverse was the case, and it was not till somewhat later that the Iroquois came into their own, as Hunt has recently shown. Also, while a contact between the Iroquois and the Pawnee, if it could be established that there was one, would have great significance for both archaeology and ethnology, since both peoples share certain culture traits in common, we wonder where the evidence is for the Iroquois quarrel with the Pawnee which Wissler presents so tantalizingly without documentation (pp. 116-17).

Bureau of American Ethnology. WILLIAM N. FENTON.

The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations. By GEORGE T. HUNT, Assistant Professor of History in Western Reserve University. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1940. Pp. 209. $3.00.)

IN 1626 the Iroquois were a relatively unimportant tribal group, not even dominant in the Hudson Valley; by 1684 they had not only consolidated their position in New York State and Pennsylvania but had conquered, dispersed, or incorporated the Hurons, Neutrals, Erie, and Susquehannahs as well as raided extensively into Michigan and the Illinois region. This volume is a scholarly study of the causes of these wars and an appraisal of the extent of Iroquois success. It is a difficult period of colonial history on account of the fragmentary and often contradictory nature of the source material; the author has handled the records admirably to produce a logical treatise. He is convincingly critical of the older writers who affirmed that Iroquois success was due to superior political organization or to superlative bravery. Professor Hunt, relying largely on the *Jesuit Relations* and on the *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, proves that the League of the Iroquois did not even function as a unit at this period and that, consequently, Morgan's assumption of the strength and political greatness of the league is unwarranted. The author's conclusion is that the Iroquois wars were entirely economic in origin. Between 1626 and 1640 the Iroquois exhausted the supplies of beaver in their own territory and at the same time became dependent upon European goods. To continue this trade

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required more beaver, which could be obtained only by cutting in on the trade of the Hurons and later of other tribes farther north and west. Hence, driven by the inexorable (though not fully realized) force of economic necessity, the Iroquois made effort after effort to become middlemen; though successful in war, the goal of a monopoly continually eluded them until, about 1684, their efforts became directed to playing off Albany against Quebec in a price war. Later the Iroquois engaged in hostilities largely as allies of one or other European power rather than as independent belligerents.

The reviewer is not competent to appraise Professor Hunt's treatment of the source material; he has obviously followed the best traditions of historical research and has produced a clear picture of a puzzling period. Anthropologically, one regrets his somewhat dogmatic assertions as to tribal characteristics; *e.g.*, that the Ottawa were cowardly but wise (p. 49), that the Hurons had great mental ability (p. 41), and that the Sioux were mild-mannered and gentle (p. 124). It is true that these observations were made by contemporary observers, but surely the day is past when it is assumed that all members of a tribe (or a nation for that matter) can be pigeonholed as having characteristics which set them apart from their neighbors. Professor Hunt's bibliography is admirable, though one notes the omission of Jenness's *Indian Background of Canadian History* (Ottawa, 1937), Kroeber's "Native American Population", *American Anthropologist* (January-March, 1934), and Bailey's *Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700* (St. John, 1937). History and anthropology overlap; and the author has made a definite contribution to the joint field in this study, in which he shows the drive of economics as the cause of war, a thesis widely recognized in more "advanced" communities but often neglected among so-called "primitive peoples".

University of Toronto. T. F. McIlwraith.

Penobscot Man: The Life History of a Forest Tribe in Maine. By Frank G. Speck, Professor of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1940. Pp. xx, 325. $4.00.)

The Penobscot Indians, or their next of kin among the Wabanaki subdivision of the Algonkian family, were described as early as 1605 by Champlain and independently by Weymouth. About a decade later the tribe was afflicted by an epidemic, and in the sixties it suffered from Mohawk raids. Before the turn of the century it had fallen under French and Catholic influence and thus came to side against the British, with whom, however, there was a series of treaties beginning in 1749. The Penobscot aided the colonists during the Revolution. Various cessions of land have left them 146 islands in the Penobscot River, with an aggregate area of 4481 acres. In 1900 they numbered only 387, but since then there has been an appreciable increase, an enumeration in 1939 yielding a population of 580. Anomalously the Penob-

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scot, while subject to the state of Maine, have no formal relations with the Federal government.

For over a generation Professor Speck has been salvaging the residual features of Northeastern Algonkian culture. Thanks to both his skill and the native conservatism, the results are far richer than might be inferred from the prolonged exposure to white contact. Those on linguistics, art, religion, and myth have largely been published, leaving ecology and social life as the main topics of the present volume.

Caucasian influences have not worked uniformly in these major departments of life. The social structure has suffered sufficiently to thwart a definitive reconstruction. The author had for a long time conceived the basic unit of the area to be a loose band with patrilineally transmitted rights to exploit a particular territory. But the hitherto unpublished researches of Dr. Frank T. Siebert, which are summarized here, now incline him to interpret the organization as a weak, yet definite, clan system with unilateral descent, totemism, and exogamy (p. 204 f.). Somewhat confusingly, he has not consistently adhered to this view, so that one even encounters a flat denial of exogamy (p. 253). The difficulty results from the impossibility nowadays of securing wholly trustworthy statistics as to what marriage and residence were like at a time when the economic system of the patrilineal groups was in full swing (p. 231). On the subject of a dual division, however, I am more sanguine: the data cited seem to establish nonexogamous moieties such as are known from other areas, too, as peripheral representatives of a full-fledged marriage regulating moiety scheme (pp. 234-36).

Material life, which looms largest in the book, had in essence suffered less when Professor Speck began his studies, and by eking out his observations with those of earlier recorders he has achieved a remarkably vivid account of Indian existence near the outermost margins of maize growing. The preponderance of hunting and fishing, the correlated importance of river transportation, the manifold uses of birchbark, the seasonal rhythm of economic pursuits and travel, are all powerfully brought home to us. In this daily routine Professor Speck has shared to the utmost of his ability, and his spontaneous sympathy with aboriginal attitudes makes the total picture a singularly attractive and convincing one.

University of California. ROBERT H. LOWIE.

Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758: A Biography. By OLA ELIZABETH WINSLOW. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1940. Pp. xii, 406. $3.50.)

THIS is by far the most complete and scholarly account of Edwards's career that has been written. Miss Winslow has made extensive use not only of the Edwards Papers but of many scattered references to Edwards from other sources. Furthermore her biography has profited by the critical studies of Faust and McGiffert in interpreting his mind. She shows convincingly

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that Jonathan Edwards was "neither Puritan nor fiery" (p. 138); he helped to break down Congregational ecclesiasticism by conceiving religion as intimately personal, and he relied less on the fear of hell-fire to bring sinners to God than on an indwelling "supernatural light" in virtue of which a man can see "a calm, sweet cast, or appearance of divine glory, in almost everything". The "almost" in this sentence is interesting; it appears from this biography that Edwards derived his sense of the "awful sweetness" of God from solitary communion with nature (his own descriptions of his conversion are full of "nature mysticism"), and that in human society he had "abundant reason to be convinced of the troublesomeness and vexation of the world, and that it will never be another kind of world". This last remark, by the way, he made as he embarked on his duties as tutor at Yale College, after he had spent several "sweet and pleasant" months on the banks of the Hudson.

The desocialization of religion in the mind of Edwards and in America in general, following the Great Awakening, is described excellently in this biography. The influence of Dutch pietism on Edwards, however, is ignored, and his brief residence in New York among the Presbyterians and Dutch Reformed is passed over as of no significance, whereas it may throw light both on his pietism and his Presbyterian leanings. The break with Thomas Clap and with Yale after Edwards had definitely turned "New Light" is given brief mention, but no explanation is offered of Edwards's invitation to Princeton. The career of Edwards is a chapter in the Presbyterianizing of New England; this comes out not merely in his theology but in his defense of the Hampshire Association and his attacks on the theories of the Congregationalist "covenants". In the general history of America Edwards is important not as a defender of Puritan orthodoxy but as a pioneer preacher of the separation of religion and society. The story of his exile from Northampton makes dramatic the departures of his mind from "the New England way".

Columbia University. HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER.

Cockpit of the Revolution: The War for Independence in New Jersey. By LEONARD LUNDIN. [The Princeton History of New Jersey.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. xiv, 463. $3.75.)

PROFESSOR Lundin has made a welcome contribution to a fuller understanding of the military history of the American Revolution. In this second volume of The Princeton History of New Jersey he has treated the crucial struggle of 1776-77 in that state with commendable scholarship, devoting the greater part of his book to this phase of the war. Though the emphasis throughout is on military events, there is a particularly useful introductory chapter on New Jersey in 1776, a discerning analysis of the social and economic factors that made for internal dissension on the eve of the war, and

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a painstaking probing of the various motives that induced the leading men of the colony to espouse the Whig or Tory cause. The illuminating chapter on some of the political aspects of the Revolutionary struggle is also deserving of special mention. It is, however, Professor Lundin's detailed study of the war itself that merits most attention. He advances no novel thesis, but, relying on the objectivity of his approach and the wealth of source material at his command, he manages to give substance to his work.

Reviewing the evidence concerning Howe's failure to crush Washington's forces in the fall of 1776, Professor Lundin is convincing in his contention that the British general simply underestimated the recuperative powers of the American army and Washington's resourcefulness as a military leader. In his account of the Battle of Trenton the author places emphasis on the strategic value of the harrying tactics employed by Washington before and after this outstanding victory. Surveying the course of the war in 1777, Professor Lundin reveals the serious handicaps under which the Continental army had to fight, particularly the incompetence of the commissary's service and the absence of adequate aid from the New Jersey militia. The unsuccessful American effort to prevent the British from ascending the Delaware River in the fall of 1777 is graphically presented. There is much about the clandestine trade of Jersey farmers with the British in New York throughout the war and with Philadelphia during the enemy occupation of that city. Discussing the Continental army's second winter encampment at Morristown, in 1779-80, Professor Lundin compares it in severity with the experience at Valley Forge and emphasizes that the harrowing conditions in both instances represented "a normal rather than an exceptional state of affairs". But he points out that this shabby neglect by the states of the enlisted soldier was entirely uncalled for. As for the domestic situation in New Jersey during the Revolution, the story is hardly a heartening one: civil strife, political knavery, incompetence, corruption, and profiteering were all too common. But there was enough idealism, efficiency, honesty, unselfishness, and courage displayed to enable the state to muddle through successfully.

Professor Lundin makes a modest disclaimer of definitiveness for his study. He did not, for example, find the Clinton Papers in the William L. Clements Library available for examination. But he has made good use of much primary material, notable in this respect being contemporary German sources. A complete listing at the end of the volume of all works consulted would be, contrary to the author's belief, no sign of pedantry but a useful feature, especially for students, who will in the long run be the most appreciative readers of a work such as this. The illustrations accompanying the text are well chosen, though the excellent map of New Jersey at the time of the Revolution would be more serviceable if it were twice as large.

City College, New York. SIDNEY I. POMERANTZ.

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Despatches and Instructions of Conrad Alexandre Gérard, 1778-1780: Correspondence of the First French Minister to the United States with the Comte de Vergennes. With an Historical Introduction and Notes by JOHN J. MENG. [Historical Documents, Institut français de Washington.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1939. Pp. 966. $6.00.)

THIS splendidly edited volume will become a standard documentary work for the study of the diplomacy of the American Revolution. Gérard's dispatches and Professor Meng's excellent introduction direct attention to Franco-American negotiations in Philadelphia, a somewhat neglected aspect of the War of Independence. Vergennes sent Gérard to the United States soon after the signing of the alliance, and the minister resided here from July 12, 1778, to October 20, 1779, when prolonged illness forced him to return to France. Gérard was entrusted with the task of overcoming the ancient prejudice against France and securing American support of the alliance. He at once opposed Congress's receiving the British peace commissioners and discussing Lord North's conciliation plan. His greatest problem was to obtain "agreement on the common goal for which the two nations were fighting" (p. 99). The chief sources of friction were the American ambitions that transcended the terms of the alliance and France's obligations to Spain, whose interests conflicted with those of the United States. This divergence of policy came out clearly in the congressional debates on the instructions for the American peace commissioners. France opposed the New England demand for fishing privileges off Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. This topic had been debated for months when Gérard finally appeared personally before Congress and helped to secure omission of the fisheries from the proposed peace treaty. France acquiesced, however, in the American demand for the Mississippi as the western boundary of the republic, but she did secure recognition of the Spanish claim to the Floridas in return for the American right to navigate the Mississippi.

The dispatches provide a valuable picture of activities in the Continental Congress. Gérard became very critical of the New England delegates, whom he considered at heart sympathetic with Great Britain. He could not see that they might distrust the Franco-American alliance and yet remain advocates of independence. He preferred the group led by the Southern delegates, which he often called *"le parti bien intentionné"*. The dilatory tactics and the uncertainty of congressional decisions worried him a great deal: *"Une partie de campagne, un jour de pluye, l'indisposition, le départ ou l'arrivée arbitraire d'un seul délegué changent souvent les calcules et les proportions des suffrages"* (p. 725).

Many other phases of American life are reflected in Gérard's correspondence. Great emphasis is placed upon American military inertia and the lack of popular support for the army: *"Les americains sembloient en effet souvent vouloir ne plus etre que spectateurs de la querelle entre la france et l'angleterre"* (p. 798). He was greatly impressed, however, with the quality of the

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troops when he visited Washington's army on the Hudson in the spring of 1779. For the commander himself he had only the highest praise, approving his defensive strategy (p. 582) and commending his personal and civic qualities (p. 458). Of the numerous topics upon which light is thrown one might single out the following: Maryland's attitude toward the Confederation, the Silas Deane-Arthur Lee controversy, and sectional jealousy.

Professor Meng is to be congratulated on such a definitive piece of scholarship. He has most admirably achieved his announced purpose of printing "the original texts of the entire correspondence, critically edited and carefully integrated with American and French manuscript and printed sources and secondary works" (p. 12). The volume reveals the most exacting research in France and the United States. The lengthy introduction presents a biography of Gérard, the background of French intervention in the Revolution, and a valuable chapter on the minister's work in this country. The editor has spared no effort to make the correspondence usable. A list of the documents is provided, the copious footnotes are most informative, and the forty-eight-page index is a model. It is unfortunate that such a large volume was not more securely bound.

Colgate University. E. Wilson Lyon.

They built the Capitol. By I. T. Frary. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie. 1940. Pp. xvi, 324. $4.00.)

The hordes of tourists yearly visiting our national capitol care little or nothing for the story of its building or its builders. Enough for them to gaze in awe-struck wonder at the luminous dome against a background of night or to follow a guide by day through its corridors and halls, carrying away as they leave only the vaguest of impressions. But for those who love the capitol, returning to it again and again, the present beautifully illustrated and carefully compiled volume fills a longfelt want. Mr. Frary not only offers facts and statistics but vividly presents the ever-changing drama of its construction, where the artists, architects, and engineers who plan, design, and carry out the work make their entrances and exits, sometimes with dignity but always as vital human beings. In the end the mighty edifice looms as a symbol of the diversified talents, products of many races, that have made our America.

The story naturally begins with the selection by President Washington of the French engineer and Revolutionary veteran, Pierre-Charles l'Enfant, to lay out the Federal city and locate its chief buildings and parks. It must be noted here that Mr. Frary omits, as do practically all writers on the subject, the one fact that makes our capitol building unique among those of the entire world, namely that it was made to conform to a true meridian, first accurately measured by Major Ellicot, which became the keynote of the entire l'Enfant plan.

Attention must also be called to another circumstance, little known but

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only too true, which has to do with the burning of the capitol in the War of 1812. Mr. Frary calls it "absolutely senseless". This is hardly justifiable when it is recalled that in the previous year our army had crossed Lake Ontario, destroyed the capital of Upper Canada, and burned its parliament buildings. It may have been bad policy on the part of the British general, but it certainly was not senseless, when no effort worth mentioning was made by the government in the way of defense.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, Mr. Frary's work as a whole is admirable and quite the most complete, scholarly, and satisfying among the many histories of the national capitol that have so far appeared.

American Catholic Historical Society. ELIZABETH S. KITE.

America's Old Masters: First Artists of the New World. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. (New York: Viking Press. 1939. Pp. 332. $3.75.)

The Way of Western Art, 1776-1914. By EDGAR PRESTON RICHARDSON, The Detroit Institute of Arts. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xxiii, 204. $4.00.)

The Birth of the American Tradition in Art. By OSKAR HAGEN, Honorary Fellow, University of Göttingen, Professor of the History of Art, University of Wisconsin. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1940. Pp. xvii, 159. $3.50.)

MR. Flexner's book contains biographical studies of Benjamin West, John Singleton Copley, Charles Willson Peale, and Gilbert Stuart, varying in length from 20,000 to 25,000 words. It is attractively printed, contains thirty-three well-chosen illustrations and a useful index, and is delightfully written. The writer appears to have surveyed virtually all the available manuscript and printed sources as well as a choice selection of the artists' painting. His bibliographies, which contain a wealth of previously unused material, are the most valuable yet to appear. Theodore Bolton's work on Charles Willson Peale, published in the *Art Quarterly* for 1939 (II, 354-86) and after Flexner's book was completed, might be added for the sake of completeness. Mr. Flexner has not only produced the popular book he set out to write but also has given us a reference work of lasting value.

Mr. Richardson undertakes to survey the American arts in relationship to contemporary developments in Europe, particularly in France, England, and Germany. His definition of art includes painting, sculpture, architecture, and even literature. His style is suited to the subject matter, and his 174 illustrations strengthen his thesis of cultural interrelationship. One need not agree either with Mr. Richardson's periodization or his choice of descriptive terms to realize that his book will be of fundamental value to students of the transmigration of cultures. Such studies as those of Flexner and Richardson will do much to raise the study of our artistic heritage to a plane of sound and mature scholarship.

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No valid history of early American art can be produced until a careful study has been made of all available works of art and reproductions of them as well as of the relevant sources and secondary works. Dr. Hagen has not written such a treatise. His book does not deal with art in the broad sense in which Richardson uses the term but is almost exclusively limited to portrait painting. The author gives evidence of having examined some New England portraits and a few in the public collections of New York City, but there is no indication of extensive, firsthand contact with colonial art south of New Jersey. Nor is there evidence that the Frick Art Reference Library, where reproductions of some 30,000 early American works of art are available, has been utilized. No new sources have been brought to light, nor will all specialists agree with the author's reinterpretation of the older, published sources. Secondary works on American arts are readily available through standard controls, but there is no proof that these tools have been systematically employed. The index is useful, and the 116 illustrations are well reproduced, but they refute quite as much as they sustain the author's main contention that our colonial art is essentially "underived" from European sources.

City College, New York. GEORGE C. GROCE, JR.

Our Rising Empire, 1763-1803. By ARTHUR BURR DARLING. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. 595. $5.00.)

OF a book with this title one expects somewhat more than he finds between the covers of Mr. Darling's volume. One expects some account of the projects for transmontane colonies between 1763 and 1775 and of the effect, whatever it was, of the thwarting of such schemes upon colonial discontent. Of this the book contains nothing at all. One expects also some account of the occupation of the West during the Revolution; this field also goes untouched. Whatever one's opinion of the effect of George Rogers Clark's campaigns upon the peace terms of 1782-83, it is surprising to find those campaigns, as well as the military successes of Galvez in the South, completely overlooked in a treatise on the winning of the Mississippi Valley, especially when the later campaign of Anthony Wayne is described in some detail. It would be difficult to argue that Wayne's campaign was more significant than Clark's in the winning of the West.

If Mr. Darling's book began with 1776 instead of 1763, and if it bore the subtitle, "American Diplomacy and Diplomatists", the description would be more accurate, for with the exception of the Wayne episode and now and then another domestic incident (*e.g.*, the Fries case, pp. 351-54; just why this is included is not clear) the volume is really a history of American diplomacy from the opening of the Revolution to the consummation of the Louisiana Purchase. Attention is focused throughout upon American efforts to secure the Mississippi Valley over the opposition (fortunately never combined) of

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Great Britain, France, and Spain, but considerable space is also given to questions of trade, maritime rights, etc.

In the field to which, despite his title, Mr. Darling has really confined himself, he has done an admirable piece of work and one that has no real rival in a single volume. Much of the field covered, it is true, has recently been explored with great ability by Messrs. Bemis, Whitaker, and Lyon, and it is no reflection upon Mr. Darling's work to say that he has not added much to their analyses or differed very significantly from their conclusions. But he has, always working from original sources but with due regard to the work of his predecessors, brought into one volume and into a single well-organized narrative a story for which the reader has hitherto needed to consult at least a half-dozen volumes, and of a part of which, notably relations with France from 1793 to 1800, there was real need for a new appraisal.

Throughout the volume Mr. Darling emphasizes two themes: first, that not one of the great powers concerned—Great Britain, Spain, France—wished to see the United States established in the Mississippi Valley; it was only the strife of Europe that made that establishment possible; second, that the men who guided American diplomacy had the vision of empire and in pursuing it displayed as much hard political realism as their European antagonists. The ideologies and the morals of European governments swayed them not at all when it came to the guarding and promotion of vital American interests. This is Mr. Darling's view of Jay and Franklin, Washington, John Adams, and Hamilton, Jefferson and R. R. Livingston. Of James Monroe and of Timothy Pickering and other "little Federalists", on the other hand, he finds nothing good to say. Fortunately, their roles were minor in this critical period.

The book is notable for the thoroughness and care with which the author has analyzed his material and for the imaginative understanding with which he interprets it, reading every document in the light of surrounding circumstances and frequently finding meaning between the lines. Obviously, this method admits a subjective element, and there will not be universal agreement with all of Mr. Darling's conclusions. Can we, for example, feel quite as sure as Mr. Darling does of Napoleon's reasons for selling Louisiana or of Jefferson's motives in promoting the Mobile Act? There is still room here for other hypotheses than Mr. Darling's.

Errors of fact appear to be extremely few. On page 189 Mr. Darling has followed Professor Bemis in an arithmetical slip into which the latter fell in his *Jay's Treaty,* failing to note Bemis's correction of his own error in his *Diplomatic History*. The reader of footnotes will be mildly annoyed at the necessity for turning to the bibliography and there searching three categories of sources in order to identify a reference. In a few instances the identification is difficult even then.

University of Buffalo. JULIUS W. PRATT.

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Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845. By Stanley John Folmsbee. [Special Studies in Tennessee History, No. 1.] (Knoxville: East Tennessee Historical Society. 1939. Pp. vi, 293. $3.75.)

As is very well known, Tennessee has three major geographical divisions which from the beginning have presented serious problems of intercommunication and transportation. Mr. Folmsbee points out that in facing the problem of transportation the early settlers had only a few natural routes along which they could travel in passing from one section to the other. East Tennessee with its fertile valleys was well suited for the production of grains, fruit, and cattle, but its isolation from all important markets kept the people of that section impoverished and discouraged for many decades. Middle Tennessee was blessed with navigable streams and many excellent natural routes of transportation. West Tennessee, while its streams were less navigable than those of the middle section, was not as isolated as East Tennessee, but it, like East Tennessee, stood in great need of communication with the outside world. Thus it may be easily seen that the extent to which each of these sections was isolated measured the relative effort of each in behalf of internal improvements. East Tennessee, whose produce had to travel far and over almost impassable routes to market, always stood strongly in favor of state aid and, when that failed, of Federal aid, with little reference to party attitudes on the question. Middle Tennessee, which had so many means of transportation and had been able to build private turnpikes, was frequently indifferent if not hostile to either state or Federal aid. West Tennessee was more closely allied to East Tennessee on this issue.

The breakdown in the early forties of state aid had a permanent political effect. While there were other issues, there is little doubt, after Mr. Folmsbee's study, that East Tennessee became predominantly Whig primarily because the Whig party championed Federal aid to internal improvements. Yet East Tennessee was a poor section, which does not support the usual theory that the Whig party and wealth went together. On the other hand, Middle Tennessee was rich and yet predominantly Democratic, and this is contradictory to the general pattern of the Democratic party. As a matter of fact an examination of many sections of the South would result in somewhat the same situation that Mr. Folmsbee finds in Tennessee: economic necessity or economic convenience determined party affiliation as much as did economic affluence. East Tennessee's poor farmers were Whigs because the Whig party promised them roads; the rich Louisiana sugar planters were Whigs because the Whig party was conservative, did not agitate the slavery question, and promised them a protective tariff.

This is one of the most painstaking and detailed studies that have been made of any phase of Tennessee history. The book gives a meticulous legislative history of internal improvements in Tennessee from the beginning of the state until the Polk administration. A book of this type is necessarily

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difficult and dry reading but is extremely valuable for reference. It has a satisfactory bibliography and index, and there are very few typographical errors.

Vanderbilt University. FRANK L. OWSLEY.

Francis Walker Gilmer: Life and Learning in Jefferson's Virginia. By RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. (Richmond: Dietz Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 408. $5.00.)

IF this picture of "the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Virginia" lacks vividness, the blame should fall on the subject rather than on the author of this painstaking and useful study. Mr. Davis has placed Francis Walker Gilmer at the center of the scene not because of his high achievements but rather because his papers, mainly preserved in the collections of the University of Virginia, constitute a precious record of the intellectual history of the state during these particularly lean years. Unlike New England, Pennsylvania, and perhaps New York, the Old Dominian had no well-defined intellectual tradition, no center where the literati of the day could congregate, no regular communication with the Northern states, and the French Revolution, followed by the Napoleonic wars, had interrupted whatever relations with Europe had been established during the late eighteenth century. Perhaps no better example could be found of involuntary but real intellectual isolation. Under these circumstances the younger men could only become paler replicas of their predecessors. Their only outlet was the study and practice of law, the development of a certain oratorical talent, an encyclopedic and somewhat superficial interest in the natural sciences, the discussion of political theories, and some participation in state rather than in national politics. If, in the words of Mr. Davis, "Gilmer was not typical of Virginia culture: he was its summary", it might be added that Gilmer was nevertheless typical of his generation. There was, however, in his character a "vein of iron" and a strength which the author might have emphasized to great advantage. This young Virginian, who was pronounced by Jefferson "the best-educated subject we have raised since the Revolution" and died of a pulmonary disease at the age of thirty-six, was no romantic consumptive. More remarkable than his love for "la belle nature" was his declaration on his deathbed: "I must keep up the Stoick, it will not do for me to feel" (p. 338). The true masters of Gilmer were not the French philosophers, and least of all Rousseau, but the classical authors, to whom he had been introduced by Wirt (pp. 19, 20, 106, 272), and this formative influence should be remembered if anyone ever undertakes the much needed study of the part played by the "ancient writers" in the establishment of the American tradition.

In this respect it may be mentioned that the inclusion in the index of the authors read or mentioned by Gilmer himself would have made Mr. Davis's study more useful, particularly as some of the names found in the text seem to have been misspelled or misread (Burlemagni, for Burlamaqui, p. 65; Jean Baptiste Sey, for Say, p. 194). Incidentally Mr. Davis falls into the com-

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mon error of attributing to "the grand educational scheme" of Du Pont de Nemours (p. 323) an originality for which credit must be given to Jefferson, who had not only outlined but published a very similar scheme thirty years earlier in a bill "for the more General Diffusion of Knowledge". Mr. Davis, however, has extracted from the Gilmer Papers much information which will be available in a convenient form to the cultural historians of the period, significant documents which otherwise would not be easily accessible, and his moderate and judicious conclusions are on the whole quite acceptable.

Princeton University. GILBERT CHINARD.

Freedom of Thought in the Old South. By CLEMENT EATON. [Duke University Publications.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1940. Pp. xix, 343. $3.00.)

WITH this volume Dr. Eaton was the winner of the $1500 centennial prize offered by the Duke University Press "for a scholarly manuscript in the field of social, literary, or artistic history of the United States". The author calls his study a "case history in the record of human liberty and intolerance". He concludes that the "two great taboos in the social life of the Old South were the criticism of Southern slavery and heterodoxy in religion". These two topics, but more particularly slavery, provide the book with its theme.

Dr. Eaton's argument runs as follows. The people of the South at the end of the eighteenth century were led by a planter aristocracy for whose members the common man still had a deference inherited from an older tradition. The thinking of this aristocracy was permeated by the humanism, the rationalism, and the religious skepticism of the Age of Enlightenment. Locke was the philosopher and deism the religion of a great number of these Southern leaders. Their liberalism expressed itself not only in skepticism of religious orthodoxy but in a tendency to regard slavery as an evil and to speculate vaguely on the possibility of its abolition. Dr. Eaton chooses the death of Jefferson as a convenient date to mark the end of this afterglow of eighteenth century thought. After the passing of the Sage of Monticello the people of the South moved toward intolerance. They moved, in the author's phrase, "from Jefferson to Calhoun".

Before continuing with the argument of the book a word is in order concerning the key chapter just outlined, called "Aristocrats with Liberal Views". Most of the people mentioned are Virginians. The liberalism described is that of Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky. South of the Old Dominion a conservative attitude on race relations was "more marked". It seems to the reviewer that the author has overemphasized the importance of Virginia liberalism. That this liberalism had limited social significance even in Jefferson's Virginia is suggested by Dr. Eaton's emphatic statement: "The Virginia press, in the period 1800-30, did not dare to tread on the dangerous ground of discussing the evils of slavery" (p. 167).

Four factors—to continue the argument of the book—seem to be of

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primary importance in explaining the change from the tolerance of Jefferson to the intolerance of Calhoun. They are: the tendency toward intellectual stagnation caused by the isolation of plantation families and by the illiteracy of the masses; the capture of the South by evangelical Protestantism; the conservatism in matters of property of "cotton capitalism"; and a nascent and sometimes active fear of slave insurrection. Several secondary factors were derived from combinations of these four. (The author does not make the distinction into primary and secondary.) Jacksonian democracy gave political power to men whose restricted intellectual outlook and religious fervor tended to erode the spirit of tolerance. The combining of popular zeal for religious orthodoxy with the fear of slave insurrection tended to limit academic freedom. Scholarship must not undermine faith or discredit slavery. The thought patterns of conscious agitators, of whom Calhoun was the chief, made for intolerance. They sought to create a militant and intolerant sectionalism as a defense against the antislavery crusade of the North, a sectionalism that tended to cause the Southern people to make harsh prejudgments of most of the ideas of social reform circulating in the North. The result was an "intellectual blockade" insulating the South from many of the thought currents of the nineteenth century.

Dr. Eaton's thesis constitutes an important contribution to the history of the ante-bellum South. His scholarship is thorough. He has added much to our knowledge of the workings of American democracy. When an author has given so much, it is, perhaps, ungracious to ask for more. Yet the reviewer wishes that Dr. Eaton had not been content to conclude his monograph with the chapter on the "intellectual blockade". One of the oldest and most important among the problems with which the anthropologist, the sociologist, the social psychologist, and the social historian deal is that of the relation of the individual to the group—the interplay between the individual and the culture in which he lives and which he helps to carry. A large body of theory has been built up concerning this relationship. The problem is of the essence of Dr. Eaton's book. His study is at the level of description. He has not dug into the philosophical roots of the problem of freedom. The reviewer wishes that he had added a chapter of criticism (in the light of the evidence he has uncovered) of current anthropological, sociological, and psychological theories. This attitude of the reviewer is the result of his conviction that American scholars in this ominous epoch in Western civilization must try desperately and humbly to achieve what insights they can into the processes of society in the hope that they may be of assistance to modern generations in the difficult task of living. The suggestion, however, is not intended as a criticism of a book of fine quality that is destined to occupy a place of importance in American historiography.

Yale University. RALPH H. GABRIEL.

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The Whitman Mission, the Third Station on the Old Oregon Trail. By MARVIN M. RICHARDSON. (Walla Walla: Whitman Publishing Company. 1940. Pp. 160. $2.25.)

THIS is a peculiar book. Professing to be a combination of history and archaeology, it represents both disciplines most indifferently, to put it mildly. The author's attitude toward history can be illustrated by a quotation from page 25. "In 1818", he says, "Great Britain and the United States had adopted a treaty of joint occupancy by which it was agreed that the people of both nations should be free to do business and to settle in the country *with the understanding that eventually when the treaty had expired, the country should belong to the nation which had the most settlers in the field* [the italics are mine]. The treaty of joint occupancy was renewed in 1828 and again in 1838 with no immediate determination of ownership in prospect."

Writing the history of treaties without reading the treaties is not exactly a novel phenomenon, but it would not be easy to find a parallel to this misconstruction of history. The author should be called upon to show where, in the treaty of 1818, there is any mention of an "understanding" to the effect stated by him, and also where he finds the record of a renewal of the treaty in 1838. Had he read the documents, he would have known that no such act of renewal was ever executed or contemplated: the convention of 1827, article I, distinctly provided that the terms of the earlier treaty were "indefinitely extended and continued in force", but that by article II it could be terminated, after October 20, 1828, at any time by either party "on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party". All rights of both parties in the territory were specifically reserved, and no hint of determination of ownership by virtue of numbers is contained therein.

The author's propaganda purpose in the italicized part of the quotation becomes evident later when he tells us on page 27, in his account of Whitman's famous ride, that from Bent's Fort on the Arkansas the doctor "found a clear trail east to Washington", and that he started without delay, "leaving Lovejoy to follow more slowly and to work up the prospective emigration to Oregon". In all the voluminous literature of the Whitman question this, so far as I am aware, is the first time that Lovejoy, Whitman's companion, is credited with some agency in organizing the Great Emigration of 1843. Since he remained at Bent's until summer, it is obvious that his assumed "work" is a figment of the author's imagination.

Richardson tells us: "It is now an unquestioned fact that Dr. Whitman went to Washington before he went to Boston". He gives no authority of any kind, however, for this bold assertion.

"Though Dr. Whitman's responsibility for the gathering of that wagon train [of 1843] has been disputed", is the author's method of shirking responsibility for his various suggestions and hints that Whitman was responsible for it. No episode in early Oregon history has been more amply illus-

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trated by documents than the manner in which the Great Emigration was actually brought together in the West, all without the slightest agency on Whitman's part.

Richardson's archaeology seems to the present reviewer quite as unconvincing as his history. His problem was to locate the several buildings of the Whitman mission on the ground and to resurrect the plan of each with reference to their ultimate reconstruction. To do all this without the use of a spade is the archaeological equivalent of detailing the history of the British-American treaties from his inner consciousness. To be sure, he has read such accounts of the buildings as have been printed, but, in view of the change in the landmarks due to the alteration of the courses of Walla Walla River and Mill Creek, the only possible way to gain relative certainty would be through careful, intelligent spade work. This he leaves over for others, which suggests the question, what, after all, is the purpose of this book? Genuine archaeologists, if they should come later, would surely insist on reading the original printed accounts of the various buildings themselves rather than accept the author's interpretation of what the writers say.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin. JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family. By EDWARD EVERETT DALE and GASTON LITTON. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1939. Pp. xxiii, 319. $3.00.)

IT is regrettable that a body of source material otherwise admirably presented should have come out under so inapplicable and misleading a title. A better is suggested by the dedication to the memory of General Stand Watie, inasmuch as the letters that constitute the volume must have been originally, with but few exceptions, the property of Stand Watie either as recipient or as sender, mostly the former. This central figure in the book was a leading member of the Cherokee minority party, which was pro-Removal in the early period covered by the letters and pro-Southern Confederacy in the later. Stand Watie and John Ross were antagonists worthy of each other, patriots to the core, both of them, although in opposite camps and thinking differently on all vital issues. Stand Watie was likewise a soldier, the best Indian, undoubtedly, who fought with and for the South, but he was scarcely a statesman, the opinion of the learned editors to the contrary notwithstanding.

Four letters only, written by two of Stand Watie's closest relatives, Elias Boudinot, his brother, and John Ridge, his cousin, antedate the nefarious Treaty of New Echota. Both men expressed themselves enthusiastically on the Worcester *v.* Georgia decision and again on the preliminaries to the 1835 negotiation. Both were victims of the factional disorders and outrages that followed the removal which they themselves had so largely brought about.

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A son of each, Elias Cornelius Boudinot and John Rollin Ridge, carried on the tradition of rivalry, hatred, and revenge. In point of personal integrity and disinterestedness both stand in strong contrast to Stand Watie. Their letters, twenty-five of Boudinot's and about a third as many of Ridge's, are extremely self-revealing. The editors, however, are not critical of these men or of their conduct. In fact, they have little that is derogatory to say of anything or anybody. An Andrew Jackson letter that would seem to have advised retaliatory factional violence is inserted without condemnatory comment.

Some of the letters are of no great importance. A not inconsiderable number, those written, for example, by members of Stand Watie's immediate family, his wife and his daughters particularly, have interest and value only insofar as they throw light upon his private character, and, truth to tell, that is not much. Of even less account are letters from female members of the Boudinot family.

The contents of the book comprise, in addition to the letters, a useful calendar of the same, some excellent illustrations, eight in all, including a genealogical chart of the descendants of Oganotota, Stand Watie's paternal grandfather, a preface, and a comprehensive index. There is, unfortunately, no bibliography, and the editors do not indicate the authorities for the facts which are set forth ably not alone in their very readable general introduction but also in the individual prefatory paragraphs introducing the various groups of letters. Their annotations are concerned largely with biographical matter.

Aberdeen, Washington. ANNIE HELOISE ABEL HENDERSON.

The Constitutional History of the United States, 1826-1876: A More Perfect Union. By HOMER CAREY HOCKETT, Professor of History in the Ohio State University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1939. Pp. xii, 405. $3.00.)

THE second volume of this work is divided into four parts: the reaction against nationalism, the democratization of the Federal government, the constitutional aspects of the slavery controversy, and war and reconstruction. About three fifths of the space is allotted to the last two sections. In general the issues growing out of the slavery struggle and the Civil War are much more fully dealt with than are the constitutional problems, other than those connected with slavery, arising before 1861. To the present reviewer this division of emphasis seems to be unfortunate, not because the slavery and war issues are irrelevant or insignificant, but because many other aspects of our constitutional history are either omitted or dealt with very sketchily. There is, for example, very little that is informative about the growth of political democracy in the state constitutional systems, yet it is here that the institutional changes of the half century are most clearly reflected. There is

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almost nothing about the growth of state regulation of business before the seventies, yet this development conditioned constitutional history in many ways, even as did the slavery controversy. The discussion of the Supreme Court during the Taney period is inadequate and, in some respects, misleading. The contract clause cases, for example, are represented only by the Charles River Bridge and West River Bridge decisions; not one of the eighteen cases in which state laws interfering with vested rights were declared unconstitutional is even mentioned.

In point of view the work is conventional. Most of the older authorities are followed uncritically. It is indicated, for example, that Taney was Jackson's puppet in removing the deposits. A more careful reading of Swisher's *Taney,* which is cited on other points, would have corrected this ancient error. The recent studies of Graham and Boudin on the conspiracy theory of the Fourteenth Amendment should have been used on this important subject. Nor is any reference made to the evidence found in Nevins's *Hamilton Fish* concerning Grant's "court packing" in 1870. The wealth of recent essays interpreting the history and nature of judicial review is rarely reflected here.

These criticisms are much less applicable to the chapters in which the constitutional issues of the slavery controversy and the Civil War are considered. The discussion of these problems follows, to be sure, the conventional pattern, but it is comprehensive, and it is based upon careful study of the great mass of research devoted to these subjects.

Harvard University. BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT.

When Civil Law Fails: Martial Law and its Legal Basis in the United States. By ROBERT S. RANKIN, Professor of Political Science, Duke University. [A Duke University Centennial Publication.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1939. Pp. vii, 224. $3.00.)

By a study of state and Federal practice from the days of Andrew Jackson at New Orleans to the present, Professor Rankin attempts to arrive at the principles governing the use of martial law and cognate measures. He succeeds admirably in demonstrating that divergent views still exist, rendering dogmatic conclusions dangerous. Nevertheless he arrives at a statement of certain trends which seem to point towards dependable conclusions.

Thus it appears that the proclamation of martial law is an executive function. The use of armed force to suppress insurrection is limited by the civil law unless martial law is proclaimed. If martial law is proclaimed, offenders and suspects may be arrested and held, under suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, for trial by the ordinary courts when martial law ends (modified or preventive martial law). Or they may be tried by special courts if the ordinary courts are unable to perform their functions (punitive martial law). The President and the governors of states have substantially identical powers to proclaim and administer martial law, except as state constitutions and laws may modify the powers of the governors. Martial law

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suspends the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in the district where it is in force. Hence it appears that the power to suspend the writ is not purely legislative. Moreover, as the greater includes the less, it follows that the executive may suspend the writ without proclaiming martial law.

Martial law, while not mentioned in the Federal Constitution, is implied as a power essential to the preservation of government. The proclamation of martial law is made at the discretion of the executive, who is the judge of the necessity for it and also of the ability of the courts to perform their functions. State courts have held that there is no check upon the exercise of this discretion except impeachment. Resort in good faith to punitive martial law where the ordinary courts might possibly have functioned does not warrant judicial dissent. However, where the proclamation of martial law has declared the existence of a state of insurrection which did not exist, the United States Supreme Court has lately asserted the right of judicial review.

While Professor Rankin admits that almost every one of these positions has been challenged, it is evident that the decision in *ex parte Milligan* was not the last word on the subject. Executive powers are more generously recognized than formerly, and in particular it appears that Taney's doctrine in *ex parte Merryman* was out of line with recent tendencies.

The difficulty of the subject matter probably justifies Professor Rankin's frequent repetitions; even so the discussion is none too clear. It is not strictly correct to say that the Supreme Court decided in the Prize Cases that the President may declare war (p. 197), and it is a serious slip to call the use of martial law an "enumerated" power (p. 191). While it may be true that the statement of the court in the Milligan case that martial law is impossible when the civil courts are open and in the unobstructed exercise of their jurisdiction is "still good law", it should not be overlooked that the opinion was and is criticized as *obiter*.

Ohio State University. HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Filibustering in the Senate. By FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 252. $2.50.)

THE appearance of another volume on the Senate inspires an inquiry into both the rise of interest in the subject and its treatment.

Only comparatively recently has the Senate become a favorite book topic. A century ago Jeremy Bentham paid his doubtful compliments in *Anti-Senatica,* sent to Jackson but unpublished until 1926. Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government* appeared in 1885, and Lynn Haines produced *Election of Senators* in 1893 and 1906 and *Your Congress* in 1915. But, for the most part, books devoted to criticism, defense, and explanation of the upper house were delayed until after direct election of senators commenced and the Senate took the spotlight over the Versailles treaty. Ever since, professors of government and political science, their Ph.D. students, and more facile commercial writers have felt encouraged to explore one or more sectors

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of the field. The United States Senate has become perennially fascinating.

The scope of discussion has included election of its members, its peculiar organization, its relations to other branches of the government, and its voting performance. Favorite themes for academicians have proved to be the treaty-making power, conference committee, and filibuster. They are venturing, later than the more popular writers, into the dynamic relations between the Senate and special interests—such as the railways, Wall Street, the agricultural bloc, and the veterans. Innocuous, because too polite, have been the books by members of the Senate and House. Much more revealing are the official reports of the Senate about itself—the voluminous "hearings"—emitted occasionally by genuine Senate committees of investigation and sometimes by committees set up as the private preserves of members with special pre-election problems. The hearings, being highly vocal with current confusions, are always revelatory—especially those on campaign expenditures, for in the heat of political rivalries the pores of even the coolest politician exude some evidence.

Realistic treatments of the Senate, however, have been all too few; they require industrious digging down, through heavy overlayers of protective verbiage, to uncover, identify, and balance dominating influences. Penetrating understanding and broad sympathy are indispensable. Anyone attempting realism will find Mr. Burdette's manual convenient. Something of a casebook, it lists about seventy-five actual and threatened filibusters, ranging from the efforts of the volcanic John Randolph of Roanoke, Virginia, in 1825 to those of the staid Senator Vandenberg of Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1939.

Burdette's approach is more from the angle of technique than that of objective, perhaps inevitably so; a treatment including 114 years of filibusters within 240 pages can have scant room for the "frame of reference" of the filibusterer or the long-range negative and positive effects of the stoppage of legislation. The fake presentation, customarily used by a filibusterer, is faithfully and repeatedly reproduced. Senatorial novices may well find helpful this explanation of the technique and invulnerability of obstruction. Let us hope that Mr. Burdette may soon add to this exterior picture an interior view, favoring students of the democratic process with a penetrating treatment of the ramifications of that "Dilemma" to which he devotes his seventh and final chapter. As he cogently observes, "Filibustering is part of the democratic system to force compromise, the conserving possibility in great controversy" (p. 234). As such, we cannot too well understand its contribution to representative government.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS.

Detroit, Dynamic City. By ARTHUR POUND. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1940. Pp. x, 397. $5.00.)

MR. Arthur Pound has been favorably known to students of the contemporary scene for his *The Iron Man in Industry* (1922), still one of the

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best discussions of the social significance of scientific technology. He has introduced into this sketch of the history of Detroit, for it is not more than that, just enough of the insight of the earlier work to save it from being a mere episodical account.

Of the 372 pages of text, about 120 are devoted to the period from the founding of the city by the French to its occupation by the Americans in 1796, about 90 to the development of the city through the Civil War, about 60 to the diversified growth of the city from the Civil War to the advent of the automobile, and the remainder—a few over a hundred—to the last forty years of industrialization. The disproportionate number of pages given to the early history suggests the general fault of the book as a whole, namely, excessive "high lighting"; in other words, too little attention is given to the development of Detroit as a community and too much to events that have interest only for a casual reader. This fault is particularly evident in the discussions of such nondramatic topics as education, literature, and the newspaper press, for in the main these discussions are gestures toward, rather than treatments of, their subjects. At the same time that this fault is noted, the author should be commended for keeping before the reader the fact that Detroit has developed continuously under the play of forces originating far beyond its own limits.

The valuable part of the book consists of the all too brief chapters dealing with the period since the advent of the automobile; in them the serious student of urbanism will find suggestive ideas which should lead him to undertake studies that are necessary if the "metropolitan urban area" is ever to be understood as a form of community organization rather than as an agglomeration of population. This understanding is particularly clear in the comments on the occupational specializations that give Detroit leadership in the automobile industry, the rise of industrial unionism, and the appearance of blighted real estate areas. All those persons who believe that industrial unionism made the "sit-down" or the "sit-in" strike, as Mr. Pound calls it, a technique of industrial warfare should read his account of the manner in which local strikes in plants far away from Detroit actually brought about the tie-up of the Detroit assembly lines. This reviewer wishes that Mr. Pound had carried the understanding he reveals in this treatment into discussions of the development of services for education, charity, and health, the handling of the relief crisis of the depression of 1929 and after, and the interlocking of controls in industry, banking, education, and religion, which, each in its own way, exhibit Detroit as an organized community.

Although Mr. Suydam's excellent drawings add distinction to the book, they also indicate, like Mr. Pound's text, that it was written for persons who are satisfied with Detroit as it is, not for serious students of the history of cities. The bibliography does not list either local or other newspapers or periodicals.

Social Security Board. RALPH TURNER.

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A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College: The Evolution of an Educational Ideal. By ARTHUR C. COLE, Professor of History, Western Reserve University. Published for Mount Holyoke College. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. iv, 426. $4.00.)

IN 1929 Thomas Woody, in *A History of Women's Education in the United States,* deplored the lack of individual histories of women's colleges in America. Partly to fill that gap, partly to supply a want felt by alumnae, a committee of the Mount Holyoke faculty selected Arthur C. Cole to write a history of the hundred years of Mount Holyoke. Mr. Cole was thus confronted with the dual task of producing a book dedicated to tracing "The Evolution of an Educational Ideal" and of compiling a chronicle of interest to two generations of Mount Holyoke women. The undertaking might not seem at first glance twofold. In actuality, however, there appears to be some diverting of the reader's attention from the announced central theme, the contributions of Mount Holyoke to higher education for women, into by-paths of anecdotal comment upon rather trivial episodes occurring within the walls of seminary and college.

The volume falls roughly into three sections, the period to 1849, the half-century down to the inauguration of President Woolley in 1901, and the twentieth century era. The first of these constitutes an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of American educational aims and achievements. The relationship of Mary Lyon and her collaborators to the whole movement of women's education, their ideals and attitudes toward social questions of the day as given expression in the seminary, are set forth in interesting form. The succeeding sections are less satisfying. The chapters dealing with the years 1849-65 and then the era of the "Dark Ages", 1865-89, and the decade of the nineties contain data of value to the student of American social life, but the role of Mount Holyoke in the world of education becomes somewhat obscured. Perhaps that is inevitable in view of the lesser part the seminary and college played in that period. In the succeeding period, unhappily, it is still harder to trace the significance of Mount Holyoke as an institution for higher learning for women. Admittedly the difficulties of selection of material and of emphasis multiply as one approaches the present. But the person interested primarily in "The Evolution of an Educational Ideal" must be disappointed to find the important contributions of Mount Holyoke to the solving of American educational problems rather submerged in details of campus life. Here, it may be, anxiety to have the book readable for alumnae determined the character of the last chapters. There is, to be sure, brief discussion of new developments in the curriculum and later changes introduced in keeping with Meiklejohn's "experimental college". But surely greater stress might have been placed upon significant innovations like the comprehensive examinations in her major field required of every senior and upon the notable place of graduate work in this liberal arts college. A more pains-

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taking endeavor to evaluate Mount Holyoke's place in the general scheme of American higher education could have detracted little from the appeal of this history to the Mount Holyoke alumnae.

This criticism upon emphasis notwithstanding, the wealth of factual data brought together and the careful use of extensive primary sources make this book a valuable addition to the literature upon American education.

Smith College. CONSTANCE MCL. GREEN.

The Fight for the Panama Route: The Story of the Spooner Act and the Hay-Herrán Treaty. By DWIGHT CARROLL MINER. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xv, 469. $4.00.)

THIS work attains a high standard of historical writing. It is evident that the author has thoroughly examined the available sources and secondary authorities. Little of importance is missing from his bibliography except William R. Manning's collection of diplomatic correspondence on inter-American affairs, William D. McCain's small volume on the relations of the United States and the republic of Panama, and articles recently published by Richard Van Alstyne on British policy in Central America. Dr. Miner also reveals keen insight and a fine sense of the dramatic as well as other talents for the production of the best historical narrative.

The story centers around the years 1898-1904 and deals with one of the most important phases of the strategy diplomacy of the United States. After two introductory chapters, the first of them a bit thin, the author begins a thorough exposition of his central theme—the struggle for the Panama Canal Zone. Few, if any, important factors are omitted: the political contests in the United States, political conditions in Colombia, the negotiations with England leading to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, the negotiations with Costa Rica and Nicaragua, the long negotiations with Colombia, the Panama revolution, and the final acquisition of the Canal Zone from the new nation born under the protection of the United States—all these topics are introduced at the appropriate time and with remarkable skill.

Much of the information is not new. Yet the interpretation and the manner of presentation make the volume decidedly significant; nowhere else will one find so thorough an analysis of the Colombian side of the controversy or so excellent a characterization of the numerous personalities involved.

Professor Allan Nevins declares in his foreword to the volume that Dr. Miner has told the story "with a completeness, an exactitude, and a comprehension of every element, every point of view, that give his treatment a close approach to finality". In view of the obvious merits of the work such enthusiasm will readily be understood. But the author is rather modest in his claims. He admits that he has not seen the Cromwell Papers or the archives of the New Panama Canal Company or those of the transcontinental railroads and that an examination of such sources might throw additional light

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on the complex struggle. Lacking access to them, he ventures no discussion of the extent of the lobbying activities of the railroads and makes no reference to the possibility that large blocks of the stock of the New Panama Canal Company might have been owned by individuals influential in the counsels of the Republican party. It is also likely that the archives of the French foreign office contain materials that would elucidate certain parts of the story.

Aside from the rather inadequate first chapter and possible defects arising from inaccessibility of some of the sources, two other minor flaws may be mentioned. The maps are poorly executed, and the full names of some of the Colombian personalities are not supplied, even in the index. Moreover, in a work which reveals such alertness in the pursuit of all ramifications of the subject in hand it is somewhat disappointing to discover no reference to the ultimate cost of the Canal Zone to the United States in comparison with the price that would have satisfied Colombia in 1903.

Balanced against the outstanding merits of the volume, such defects have small weight. This reviewer has examined few superior monographs in the field of American diplomacy.

University of Chicago. J. Fred Rippy.

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. The Lansing Papers, 1914-1920. In two volumes. [Department of State.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1939; 1940. Pp. lxii, 801; xl, 576. $1.50; $1.25.)

This work is important both for the richness of original material for the history of American foreign policy during the period of the World War and for the light it throws, or at least the problems it suggests in historical criticism, in relation to the *War Memoirs* of Robert Lansing, published in 1935. When he was dismissed as Secretary of State by President Woodrow Wilson in 1920 Mr. Lansing took away with him from the Department of State what he considered to be his own papers. These consisted principally of memoranda on various matters of policy and of correspondence with the President, with Colonel House, and also between Secretary Bryan and himself when Lansing was counselor from 1913 to 1915. There are also many copies of regular diplomatic papers and a voluminous personal correspondence between the Secretary of State and some of the ambassadors in European capitals, very revealing personal and confidential letters which were kept out of the embassy files, and which are much more illuminating and important than the routine embassy numbered dispatches to Washington. After Lansing's death and after the publication of his *War Memoirs,* the Department of State retrieved these papers, and they are now a part of its official archives. Historians like Julius Pratt have used them, when in Mr. Lansing's possession, and Charles Tansill more recently, when in the Depart-

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ment of State. The Senate Munitions Investigating Committee during 1935 ransacked them in the department's archives and published such selections as would build up the case it wished to make.

The present publication does not include all of this great mass of vitally important source material. It is rather an "extensive selection". The selections are grouped under divisions similar to those that characterized the *Supplements* for 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, and 1918 of *Foreign Relations of the United States,* which supplements presented the special diplomatic correspondence with belligerents during the World War. The criterion of selection corresponds to that employed in the careful editing of the *Supplements;* that is to say, we may presume that no essential documents stemming from the United States government are omitted within the classifications employed. In many instances, however, documents presented by foreign governments, on which running comment occurs in the Lansing Papers here printed, are not themselves presented, doubtless in deference to the somewhat legendary comity which prevents, at least in the routine of diplomacy, the government of the United States from publishing diplomatic papers from foreign governments without their consent.

It would need an extensive article to do justice both to the very great significance of these documents and to the problem of historical criticism concerned. Here the reviewer can only hint at them. We all know that back of the formal diplomatic correspondence and notes (which have been printed in such conventional collections as *Foreign Relations* and *Foreign Relations Supplements*) there went on a great deal of questioning, cogitation, deliberation, and meditation while policy was being formulated. If back of the formal state papers the historian could always have memoranda and correspondence which unfold the evolution of a policy, as, for example, do the various drafts of Washington's Farewell Address and the correspondence between him and Hamilton relating to them, he would be able with greater certainty to trace the origin and evolution of policy, its alternates, its dilemmas, its implications. Unfortunately this is rarely possible. The *Lansing Papers* afford to the scholar this very facility for many of the major problems of American diplomacy during the World War, stopping short at the beginning of peace negotiations. (It is understood that the Department of State is now preparing, following perennial importunities of the American Historical Association and other learned societies, to publish a voluminous documentary history of the peace negotiations at Paris; doubtless the portions of the Lansing Papers relating to these negotiations and not printed here will be presented in that compilation.) What we have here is a supplement to the *Supplements,* more important than most of the collections that have appeared hitherto. The scholar who uses these papers, and they will be used by many scholars very closely for many years, must also have at his elbow the volumes of *Foreign Relations* for the period, both regular and supplementary, the corresponding

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publications of other governments, the *Secret Papers of Colonel House, Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters,* the *Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page,* the *Report* of the Senate Munitions Investigating Committee, the memoirs of the contemporary diplomatists and statesmen, both American and foreign—in sum, all of the great body of printed sources thrown up by the convulsive historical aftermath of the World War. He will find in the *Lansing Papers* vital new material to supplement and illumine these sources which until now have seemed so complete. Every work on American diplomacy during the World War can be revised by the full study of these papers. Important new material appears in all of the categories into which the papers are grouped. Neutrality and its problems, such as armed merchant ships, the submarine controversy, belligerent recruiting, freedom of the seas, the sale of munitions; peace proposals; the Far East; Russia; Latin America—all these, and many other subjects, are reflected in this publication.

These volumes, moreover, will help to solve the historical problems presented by Mr. Lansing's own publications. In 1921 he published two quasi-popular books about the peace conference: *The Big Four and Others of the Peace Conference* and *The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative.* This was after his dismissal and after the Senate's rejection of the Peace Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. We gather from these narratives, particularly *The Peace Negotiations,* that Mr. Lansing foresaw the difficulties and objections about the League of Nations and in vain sought to forestall them. Mr. Lansing died in 1928, before having completed the volume of his *War Memoirs,* drawn in large part from his unpublished papers. Somebody else, unknown, completed the preparation of the *War Memoirs* for publication, which took place in 1935, just before the disillusionist literature on American participation in the World War had begun to take hold of public opinion. The *War Memoirs* picture the Secretary as a prescient statesman, who realized the inevitable outcome of the debates on neutrality: war with Germany. With this in mind, he says, he relegated the controversy over neutral rights with England to the desuetude of prolix debates, while he held Germany to strict accountability pending the time when public opinion would catch up with him and enable the United States to go to war on the larger grounds of a contest between autocracy and democracy. The now published *Lansing Papers* leave the reader with a different impression: the Secretary was a champion of strict neutrality. He realized that we could not go to war with Canada and England over neutral rights, and he filed caveats to cover arbitration after the war. But there is no convincing indication that he expected or wanted the United States to go into the war or advocated it before 1917, although he often weighed the possibilities in a detached way. Of the many significant documents one of the most interesting is his philosophical memorandum written for his own reference and satisfaction on the thankless position and task of the neutral and justifying it: "It is only in

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the realization of duty performed and in the confident hope that history will some day do tardy justice, that those, upon whom lies the burden [of maintaining neutrality] will find a full recompense for having been faithful to the end . . ." Only after February 1, 1917, was he in favor of war with Germany: "with the conviction that war is bound to come—and I have come to this conviction with great reluctance and with an honest desire to avoid it, the question seems to be", etc. We suggest, therefore, that in his own publications Lansing, writing in the prevailing climate of public opinion, selected those materials from his papers which tended to show him prophetically anticipating the verdict of history, as it seemed at the moment of writing. The present *Lansing Papers* will enable the scholar now to revise Mr. Lansing's own estimates of himself as a stateman, but not wholly: the most important Lansing document of all, the Lansing *Diary,* lies now in the Library of Congress, sealed to scholars until 1952. Any definitive study of Lansing as Secretary of State must wait until that date. Meanwhile these papers show the Secretary to have had a legal mind of great if somewhat inflexible acumen. There is no question that he was the brains of the department, upon which Bryan and the President relied during the Commoner's brief incumbency, and that Wilson as President, although he kept a close oversight and mastery of foreign policy, nevertheless leaned heavily on Mr. Lansing, both as counselor and as Secretary of State, for legal opinions and for analyses and recommendations of policy. On the whole the publication of these documents enhances the stature of Robert Lansing and thus serves as a corrective of other source collections which had left him much out of the picture.

For the excellent editing, the arrangement and compilation of the papers within the official rubrics of selection, the thanks of the historical profession are due to Dr. J. S. Beddie of the Division of Research and Publication. It conforms to the high standard originally set for the *Foreign Relations Supplements* by the late Dr. Joseph V. Fuller.

Yale University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters. By RAY STANNARD BAKER. Volume VII, *War Leader, April 6, 1917-February 28, 1918;* Volume VIII, *Armistice, March 1-November 11, 1918.* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1939. Pp. xix, 604; xiii, 626. $5.00 each.)

WITH the publication of Mr. Baker's seventh and eighth volumes one of the most extensive of modern biographies has finally reached its conclusion. Together they cover the full period of American participation in the war, ending abruptly with the armistice. In these volumes Mr. Baker departs from the orthodox biographical presentation of those which had previously appeared, abandoning all attempt at interpretation in favor of a compilation of the raw materials of history. What we have now is only a "day-by-day

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chronicle" of the President's activities during this period, rather than his "life". The reasons for this alteration in procedure are listed by the author in the introduction to Volume VII. The decision appears to have matured only gradually as he surveyed the Wilson Papers in preparing for his last volumes. The feeling grew in him that the period he was now about to cover could no longer be broken into "separate subjects". There was only "one vast, overwhelming, irresistible purpose: war" (p. xvi). "The field which had hitherto been narrowly domestic, now included the entire world. He [Wilson] must extemporize both policy and action. He had suddenly become a world leader, and must be tested by new standards" (p. xiv). This, the author came to be convinced, could be made clearest by a study of the President's day-by-day war record. Moreover, he felt that it would lead to a fuller appreciation on the part of the reader of "the immense significance, in this war as in no former one, of the economic, industrial and mechanical factors" (p. xv).

One is immediately led to wonder whether these advantages might not have been attained by a less radical departure. However skillfully the task has been accomplished, there is much that is lost in this stringing together of notes, letters, telegrams, speeches, excerpts from diaries, etc. Some of the disadvantages of this procedure are obvious. The fragmentation of the story by the daily calendars of frequently unrelated events was of course inevitable. Other defects were perhaps not so unavoidable. An enormous amount of space is taken up by the inclusion of material that is published elsewhere or is of a trivial character. Scores of pages are given to extracts from the House Papers and from *Foreign Relations of the United States*. There is a great deal in the way of congratulatory letters and telegrams (with the President's replies), of family correspondence, of communications with old classmates, etc. There is also rather more than seems necessary of references to contemporary events which frequently have no discernible relation to the source material presented or to the President's acts and attitudes.

Some of the difficulties encountered by the author in his new approach might have been overcome with greater ease if these volumes had been provided with a more extensive set of notes. The reader, particularly if not intimately acquainted with Mr. Baker's earlier volumes, will frequently feel a need for background material. But this may be slight in comparison with his desire for information on the results of presidential initiative. One is continually left to wonder about the consequences of steps taken by Wilson, particularly in personal matters. Thus we should like to know such things as whether his intercession in behalf of Professor Froehlicher with the authorities of Goucher College (VIII, 124-25) produced a favorable reaction. There are some inaccuracies in the notes and references to contemporary events. Baron Burian became Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs but not Austrian prime minister in April, 1918 (VIII, 95). Some curious perversions of fact spring from the use of the *Literary Digest* as a source of information on

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military affairs. Whatever the American public may have been led to believe, the President must have known the near-route of the French in the Chemin des Dames sector on May 27, 1918, for what it was. What can be the purpose of describing it now in such terms as: "The French and British troops, co-operating magnificently, retired methodically and in perfect liaison, making the enemy pay dearly for his successes" (VIII, 174)?

In the face of these drawbacks it is a pleasure to note that by his new procedure Mr. Baker has in fact succeeded in making the role of our war President more real to us. No panegyrics could be more impressive than the mere repetition of the day-by-day chronicle. The inclusion of the trivia of presidential routine gives us a better picture because it is more complete. And the complete absence of interpretation or analysis probably makes it easier to see Wilson as he really was. We have abundant evidence of the qualities which many of his severest critics never failed to acknowledge: courage, steadfastness, loyalty, a fine sense of propriety, and the ability to use tact in recalling others to it. Remarkable was his talent to say "no" gracefully, and many of his letters were veritable models along this line. One cannot fail to appreciate the President's steady resistance to national hysteria, his sympathy for the abused German-Americans, his balance in insisting on fundamental issues while never relaxing his attention to necessary detail. It is a marvel that the physical and mental overstrain, to which Judge Brandeis ascribes his later mistakes (VIII, 316, n.), did not set in earlier. The best explanation of the President's stamina can probably be found in his perseverance in a program of recreation. Golf, drives in the country, and the theater gave him the opportunity to secure that necessary relaxation. Many passages reveal his breadth of view and a certain prophetic vision. "The world is going to change radically", he once said to Dr. Axson, "and I am satisfied that governments will have to do many things which are now left to individuals and corporations. I am satisfied for instance that the government will have to take over the great natural resources. What does that mean? That means it will have to take over all the water power; all the coal mines; all the oil fields, etc. They will have to be government-owned" (VIII, 241).

Like the preceding volumes the last two offer little in the way of startling revelations in regard to domestic or world affairs. The most significant contributions are those dealing with the secret treaties, with the development of the idea of an association of nations, and with the armistice negotiations. Of the secret treaties we learn that Balfour omitted to transmit those which dealt with the German overseas possessions. Of these Britain was to get the lion's share, and apparently the London government was anxious to preserve the President's faith in the purity of its motives, though willing enough to instill in him doubts as to those of its allies. It is worthy of note that Wilson continued to regard these territorial arrangements with something akin to indifference. "The President", says Mr. Baker, "did not answer this communi-

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cation in writing, nor refer to it in writing at any time, nor apparently did he give the treaties themselves any study" (VII, 75). The explanation no doubt lies partly in what he later voiced to House: "When the war is over we can force them to our way of thinking" (VII, 180).

In the matter of the growth of the concept of an association of nations the Wilson Papers reveal that the British had an even larger share than is customarily supposed. It was the President who inclined to hang back and postpone the formulation of definite plans until the war was over. His attitude was expressed in a letter to Theodore Marburg, who had forwarded some suggestions from Lord Bryce:

> I cannot escape the conviction that to occupy ourselves now with the development of a working organization for a League of Nations would be a mistake, strong as are the arguments which Lord Bryce urges. The thing could not be done privately as he suggests. No international conference of men of the stamp that would be necessary in this great undertaking can be held in a corner or without public knowledge, and we would start a discussion of the very thing which ought not now to be discussed, a discussion in a field where jealousy and competitive interest is most likely to block the whole business.

Volume VIII contains the telegrams to House during the negotiations of armistice terms in October, 1918. Interesting here is the evidence of Wilson's vigorous opposition to conceding the British reservation on the freedom of the seas and the strong language he advised House to use in this regard.

With a view to the difficulties of handling materials of this sort the two volumes have been provided with an unusually complete index. Valuable as this last portion of Mr. Baker's work remains, the procedure adopted by him destroys any claim he might have had to having written the definitive biography of Woodrow Wilson. For the period of the World War at least this remains to be written. Mr. Baker's decision has left the field wide open to others who might be tempted to make the attempt.

University of Minnesota. HAROLD C. DEUTSCH.

Perish by the Sword: The Czechoslovakian Anabasis and our Supporting Campaigns in North Russia and Siberia, 1918-1920. By R. ERNEST DUPUY, Major, U. S. Army. (Harrisburg: Military Service Publishing Company. 1939. Pp. 302. $2.50.)

SINCE the beginning of Germany's expansion under Nazi leadership many political tracts of a pseudohistorical nature have appeared like mushrooms after the rain. Many of them treated sympathetically the plight of Czechoslovakia, that incongruous "synthetic" creation of the postwar treaties. Major R. Ernest Dupuy, public relations officer at West Point, set himself the task of relating the military and political adventures of the 40,000 Czech and Slovak prisoners of war in Russia, because, as he explains in his preface, "American gold, American bayonets, American blood paid to free the Czech

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Legion from bondage: to erect the nation" and because "in the light of what has happened, in the light of what we may be urged to do again, it will be well to recall the past". Unfortunately, Major Dupuy's book overemphasizes America's part in "freeing" the Czech Legion and distorts the past, which is probably due to the "facile pen of a war correspondent", as advertised on the flyleaf of the book, and an extreme carelessness in dealing with historical facts.

As a military man Major Dupuy accepts as gospel truth the book of the late General Graves, who was in command of the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, notwithstanding the serious criticism that has been made both of the book and of the actions of General Graves. Had Major Dupuy read this reviewer's documented study, "Die diplomatischen Verhandlungen zur amerikanischen Intervention in Sibirien, 1918-1920" (*Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas,* 1938, no. 2), he would not have stated that "Graves . . . was to adhere in letter and spirit" (p. 90) to the *aide-mémoire* of President Wilson of July 17, 1918, drawn for the guidance of American representatives in Russia. As a person lacking in historical training, Major Dupuy relies on the popular book by Edmund A. Walsh, *The Fall of the Russian Empire,* and repeats its misstatements. As a journalist, he tackles a subject without any fundamental knowledge of its background. The result is a work in which one finds such pearls of historical misinformation as the following: "The German Riga offensive . . . forced Kerensky to move his capital from Petrograd to Moscow" (p. 31), and "Poole had landed troops at Archangel upon the invitation of the local Bolshevik government" (p. 91). The capital of Russia was not moved to Moscow until February, 1918, four months after the fall of Kerensky's government, and the British General Poole was never invited to land troops at Archangel by the local Bolshevik government, which fled at the first sight of Allied transports.

Major Dupuy is also very careless with his dates and hazy about the geography of Russia. He dates the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as of March 13 (p. 17) instead of March 3, and the armistice which preceded as of December 17 (p. 31) instead of December 5. He places the murder of the czar on July 16 (p. 71), whereas it took place on July 17. He locates the city of Petrozavodsk "near Lake Ladoga" (p. 190) and the Trans-Siberian railroad "east of the Caucasus" (p. 230), whereas the former is on the shore of Lake Onega and the latter east of the Urals.

Last but not least a word about the spelling of Russian names. Not only is there no uniformity of spelling, but even this reviewer's name is misspelled in three different ways. More careful proofreading by a person familiar with the Russian language would have eliminated these flaws.

On the whole the book is not only worthless as a piece of historical writing (although such paraphernalia as footnotes, a scanty bibliography, and an index are present), but it is a misrepresentation of an as yet obscure but important part of American history. The only redeeming feature, the eighty-

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nine photographs which illustrate the book, save it from being a complete failure.

University of Maryland. LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY.

Essays in Canadian History presented to George Mackinnon Wrong for his Eightieth Birthday. Edited by R. FLENLEY. (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada. 1939. Pp. x, 372. $2.50.)

PROFESSOR Wrong's long and distinguished career at the University of Toronto has been fittingly and happily celebrated by this volume. Most of the sixteen contributors have at some time been either students or colleagues of Professor Wrong; half of them have been both. One might therefore expect to find here some traces of the emergence of a Toronto historical school if not of actual intellectual inbreeding, but it is difficult to find any evidence of either. The essays are as varied in subject as in point of view and method of approach. The subjects range widely over the whole field of Canadian development from early to recent and from sea to sea, although the history of the St. Lawrence Valley receives predominant attention. Several of the essays go beyond the scope of what may be called history proper and delve in the adjacent fields of law, political science, and geography. One of the essayists, bolder than his fellows, has essayed an excursion into the future from which he has brought back some rather startling convictions. Although political history forms the core of the collection as a whole, the economic causes of political phenomena are stressed by several of the writers. Others deal with the reciprocal relations of cultural with other social forces in the emergence of a Canadian national life. Variety is most noticeable in the historical methods used. One of the essayists has proceeded by almost pure reason to build up a political metaphysic of the Canadian constitution, while another by the ingenious use of tombstone inscriptions and other genealogical aids has endeavored to disentangle certain Scottish-Canadian fur traders. Here is surely proof, if such were needed, of Professor Wrong's gift for inspiring without indoctrinating, for leading without creating mere followers. The tribute could have been made more impressive by the inclusion of essays in European history by eminent American scholars in that field who were first drawn toward history in Professor Wrong's undergraduate classes at Toronto. To find any pattern in the variety exhibited by these essays one might most profitably look at recent tendencies in historical writing generally, rather than to any peculiar conditions prevailing at Toronto.

The essays will probably make their greatest appeal to those who are already tolerably familiar with the main outlines of Canadian history. They throw welcome light into some of the dark corners of the conventional story. But to those who have followed with any care the recent literature on the subject some of the essays may seem to lack freshness. There will at least be little to surprise or challenge. It should be remembered, however, that the

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reason why some of the points of view seem commonplace is that the essayists in earlier and more substantial works have themselves made them so. Nor is this to suggest that the essays add little to our existing store. What most of them do is to apply earlier and recognized points of view to areas lying adjacent to fields which the essayists themselves have already cultivated. In the still pioneer conditions prevailing in Canadian history this extension of the frontier of our knowledge is useful if not spectacular. It is the more so when it is done, as it is here, by scholars of mature judgment. Finally, it would have been no fitting tribute to a master of the old school had the essayists not imposed upon themselves the strictest requirements of good English.

University of Saskatchewan. W. Menzies Whitelaw.

Guatemala, Past and Present. By Chester Lloyd Jones, Professor of Economics and Political Science, University of Wisconsin. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 420. $5.00.)

Writers on individual Latin-American countries usually confine themselves to tracing political history, adding perhaps a description of scenic charms. Few recognize the existence of economic and social conditions, much less study them. In *Guatemala, Past and Present,* however, Professor Jones gives a well-balanced treatment of political, economic, and social features of Guatemala's development. Scenic charm he leaves to the sixty-two excellent photographic illustrations, and most of those are social and economic rather than scenic in their interest.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I, "Political Development", contains nine chapters. Three of them are on the colonial period, including an excellent account of colonial economy; three more give the chronological story of the republic; and a final three present its international and constitutional aspects. The foreign relations chapter is unusually full and well documented, although the author does not appear to have utilized any British sources for the Belize boundary controversy.

Part II, "Economic Advance", is probably the most important section of the book; certainly it contains the largest amount of fresh material. The approach is historical, the emphasis statistical. "Study of the vital statistics, the chief economic products, and the imports and exports of any country", says the author, "gives one of the keys to its manner of life and to the civilization which may develop within it." With this as his text he devotes three chapters to labor from the conquest to the present, three to production, two to finances, and one to public services.

Part III, "Social Life", is relatively, but only relatively, less valuable. A chapter on population, three on social life itself, and one on education are followed by a final, summary chapter entitled "If I were Dictator", in which the author analyzes Guatemala as a whole. His conclusions are restrained.

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"A survey of the experience of the republic does not indicate that . . . advances will be rapid, sustained, or free from disappointments."

To the great inconvenience of the reader, footnotes (with some exceptions) are placed in a forty-six-page "Jim Crow" section at the end of the book. The eight-page bibliography of "representative works dealing with developments in Guatemala" is, perhaps, the weakest spot in the entire book. Titles are listed alphabetically by author with no attempt at classification and no annotations to indicate either the nature of works or the author's opinion of their reliability and general merit, even for the most cited titles. This is particularly unfortunate in the present instance, for Professor Jones is exceptionally well qualified to comment upon them.

Throughout, the author writes in a calm, detached fashion. Perhaps the account is too factual and detailed, but, after all, facts are essential before adequate interpretation can be made. With the facts themselves and the relative value given them the present reviewer can find little to challenge. The style tends to be heavy, however, and a bit more of summary and conclusion to each chapter might have helped. In Part I there are some factual errors, but they are minor points of background, as a misdating of the founding of Panamá and the statement that Alvarado's expedition was a "fiasco". Occasional small errors occur in accents on Spanish names (*e.g.*, Cortés). A misspelling of "aniline" occurs in at least one instance (p. 202, n.), and of the name "Priestley" in the bibliography. But these small defects stand out only by virtue of their rarity.

All in all, *Guatemala, Past and Present* is the best work on a single Latin-American country to appear in English, at least since the Foreign Policy Association's *Problems of the New Cuba* (New York, 1935). Any scholar contemplating a study of some individual country would do well to follow Professor Jones's work as a model.

Berkeley, California. LEWIS W. BEALER.

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NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Civilization in East and West: An Introduction to the Study of Human Progress. By H. N. SPALDING. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xv, 334, $4.25.) This book is a thoroughgoing spiritual and religious interpretation of history, presented in highly metaphysical fashion and colored by a warmly enthusiastic Catholic point of view. Its purpose is thus concisely stated in the preface: "It is the business of this book to survey the marvellous progress towards happiness made by mankind during the last few thousand years, through the definition and development of a diversity of ideals, as well as to indicate the false ideals that fight against progress, and the fate that has lain in store for them." Under the general heading of "The Materialist State" Mr. Spalding examines the dictatorships of history, from those of early China to fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. He condemns them as selfish, warlike, and inadequate. Next, under the caption of "The Moral State", he deals with China, Japan, Scandinavia, and Germany. These represent an improvement over the dictatorships but are, nevertheless, one-sided. Israel, Islam, and Catholicism produced a synthesis which he calls "The Moral-Spiritual State", of which that of Catholic Europe was the highest form. In Hinduism, Buddhism, and the Greek Church of old Russia he sees manifestations of "The Spiritual State". What is needed in the present world crisis is a synthesis of the best in the ideals of the past, such as was suggested by ancient Athenian democracy and the principles of Jesus. Social reconstruction and peace must be achieved under moral auspices, or civilization is done for: "Roman civilization could go down without affecting Chinese civilization; a broad ocean once hid America from Europe. Now, because of the facilities of communication, mankind is in the same boat, and must either founder together, or pull round together: crash to World-Ruin, or climb to World-Renaissance." HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Pages from the Past. By H. A. L. FISHER, Warden of New College, Oxford. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. vii, 237, $3.50.) H. A. L. Fisher was a representative of that great tradition which combined the sciences and the humanities, content and form, the contemplation of the study and the activity of public life, into the fullness of personality. He died in April, and the present book is the last which came from his pen. It is a collection of essays and reviews, none of them important in themselves, all of them, however, representative of his great gifts as well as of his limitations, which were both in a certain way characteristic of the generation of which he embodied some of the best qualities. Probably the most important paper in this volume is that on "The Whig Historians", of whose taste for good letters and ability to write with charm and distinction Fisher was a legitimate heir. In "America after Fifteen Years", written as a result of visits to the United States in 1909 and 1924, he notes, above all, the vastly increased interest in foreign affairs and the growing disposition to regard the sacred fabric of the Constitution as admitting of improvement. Two essays proclaim that the great advantage of living in a city is the exciting prospect of an escape into the country. The rest of the volume consists of short speeches and book reviews, ranging in subject matter from the bimillenary of Virgil to Arnold

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J. Toynbee's *A Study of History*. The most entertaining of the papers is one which tells the story of what would have happened if Napoleon, instead of surrendering to the British after Waterloo, had taken a Danish ship lying off La Rochelle which would have carried him to Boston. HANS KOHN.

A Concise History of Italy from Prehistoric Times to our Own Day. By LUIGI SALVATORELLI. Translated by Bernard Miall. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. 688, $5.00.) The author of this volume has been civil servant, professor of church history at the University of Naples, and coeditor of one of the most important Italian dailies. The practice of public administration, first-rate scientific preparation, the habit of writing daily for a vast public, and, last but not least, the many years of calm meditation he has enjoyed since his withdrawal from public life, have allowed Salvatorelli to produce a real masterpiece of historical synthesis. The book's many qualities include scrupulously accurate information, sapient selection, well-balanced arrangement of the essential facts, a direct, lucid, and vigorous style, detachment, common sense in point of view, and an ample yet restrained bibliography. The undertaking was an arduous one, for the history of Italy was universal history during the last three centuries of the Roman Republic and the first ten of the Christian era, and then it broke up into an infinite number of local histories; only in the eighteenth century did it begin to achieve unity and autonomy once more. The ablest historians have been baffled by so complex and fluid a subject. Salvatorelli has made the Italian people the center of the action instead of giving the principal role to warriors, popes, princes, and men of letters. This scheme has allowed him to achieve order and unity where his predecessors had lost themselves in a morass of undigested detail. In dealing with the Middle Ages the author has done more than resume, with unusual literary ability, the studies of others. He has, in many instances, done original work. The history of ecclesiastical institutions and of pontifical politics is admirably dealt with, as was to be expected from one who is a specialist in church history. I do not hesitate to say that this is the best history of Italy that has been published during the last forty years. GAETANO SALVEMINI.

Man and the Western World. By JOHN GEISE, University of Pittsburgh. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1940, pp. xxx, 1074, $4.50; also available in a two-volume edition, with the split at the year 1350, at $2.75 each.)

A Short History of Western Civilization. By CHARLES EDWARD SMITH and LYNN M. CASE, Louisiana State University. (Boston, Heath, 1940, pp. xxi, 815, $4.00.)

Decisive Battles: Their Influence upon History and Civilisation. By Major-General J. F. C. FULLER. (New York, Scribner's, 1940, pp. xvii, 1060, $4.50.) General Fuller, distinguished British soldier and author, has established an enviable record as a military historian. He has been an exponent of the modern mechanized force, warning his government of the necessity both of an adequate air force and of modern mechanized types of warfare. In the present volume he discusses twenty-nine decisive battles, from Arbela, 331 B.C., to the Battle of Aragon, A.D. 1938. This great expanse of time he divides into periods and selects certain decisive battles which he describes with moving interest, simplicity, and clearness. He inserts a synopsis of the trend of the times leading up to the battles. Each chapter is accompanied by reference notes and a bibliography. It represents extensive research and scholarship of high quality. His ideas for this work were formulated when he was an instructor in military history at the British Camberley Staff College eighteen years ago. Finding no modern work available (Creasy published his classic *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* in 1851), he

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set out to write a book which would cover, although briefly, the military history of the world. Fuller's work is intended as a basis for further study of military history. Of course he could not describe every decisive battle. He made his selection with a view to portray some of the historically more important military events, to illustrate certain military principles, and to demonstrate how complex war is today. Fuller has brought new viewpoints to Creasy's standard work while extending the story of military history down to 1938. Not all will agree with his political deductions, but this does not detract from the value of his book. It is well indexed, the maps and diagrams are clear, and it is written in such nontechnical language that it will be as readily understood by civilian as by military readers. GIRARD LINDSLEY MCENTEE.

The Forgotten Gospel. By CEPHAS GUILLET. (Dobbs Ferry, Clermont Press, 1940, pp. 395, $2.50.) An attempt to apply the gospel of Jesus to our times.

Historical Tables. By S. H. STEINBERG. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. x, 256, $3.50.) In a foreword to this volume Dr. G. P. Gooch writes: "It is not a book to be read through and put back on our shelves, but an indispensable companion to be kept on the table. It should prove of the greatest value in schools and colleges, and when the days of examinations are over it will remain within reach. For who can keep in mind the dates, the details and the sequences even of the most important transactions from the rise of the Roman Empire to the end of 1938?"

Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Herausgegeben von der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel. Volume XXXVIII. (Basel, Verlag der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek, 1939, pp. 325, xxvi.) Five studies printed in this volume should be noted: "Basel zur Zeit des Schmalkaldischen Krieges", by Paul Burckhardt; "Die Eidgenössische Intervention im Kanton Basel im IV. Quartal 1831", by Eduard Schweizer; "Jacob Burckhardt und John Ruskin", by Oskar Walzel; "Kaiser Augustus", by Felix Stähelin; and "Über die Orientierung der Stadtpläne von Augusta Raurica und Basilia Romana", by Hans Stohler.

Les cartes de la Corse de Ptolémée au xix^e^ siècle. By A. BERTHELOT and F. CECCALDI. (Paris, Leroux, 1939, pp. 223, 75 fr.)

Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques latins. Published under the Direction of J. BIDEZ, FR. CUMONT, A. DELATTE, Sir FREDERIC KENYON, and V. DE FALCO. Volume I, *Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de Paris antérieurs au xvii^e^ siècle*. Described by JAMES CORBETT, University of Notre Dame. [Union académique internationale.] (Brussels, Secrétariat administratif de l'U. A. I., Palais des Académies, 1939, pp. 366, 15 belgas.) The present catalogue accomplishes for alchemical manuscripts in public libraries of Paris what Dorothea Waley Singer achieved for similar manuscripts in the British Isles. Unlike Mrs. Singer, who included only manuscripts before 1500, Mr. Corbett has extended his chronological limit to 1600. He has further diverged to advantage from Mrs. Singer's plan of dividing the contents according to authors by analyzing the manuscripts as units. Manuscripts in French as well as Latin are described. The catalogue is provided with appendixes containing selections from the manuscripts as well as with full indexes of manuscripts, authors, and opening words of both texts and headings. A few errors and further identifications based on a detailed study of the tracts in question have been noted. The work contained in MS. 7147, ff. 1-12v (p. 56), is not identical with that indicated on page 110 (no. 26, f. 62) and printed in Borgnet, XXXVII, 545, etc. It conforms rather to the *Compositum de*

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compositis also attributed to Albertus Magnus (*cf.* J. R. Partington, in *Ambix*, I, 1937, 17). The *Liber lapidum* (p. 80) is that sometimes ascribed to Pseudo-Albertus Magnus (*cf.* Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 567). The recipes on folios 77v-78v of MS. 7162 (p. 111) belong to the *Alkimia minor* indicated on folios 80v-85 of the same manuscript. The Borgnet reference on page 17 should read V, 1-116, not *V, 103-116*. Despite these and other minor inaccuracies as well as the omission of three sixteenth century Latin manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale (7173, 7179, and 15,111), the catalogue is a real boon to students of alchemical writings of the Middle Ages. It should prove of inestimable value in the task of classifying and determining the authorship of such compositions. PEARL KIBRE.

An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Oxford. [Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1939, pp. xxxiii, 244, $5.50.) To any devotee of Oxford or any student of the history of British architecture this volume represents extraordinary value. It contains well over five hundred specially made photographic illustrations and architectural plans. Its text, under the headings of university buildings, colleges, ecclesiastical and secular buildings, appears to be comprehensive of the region extending from Binsey on the west to Headington End on the east and north to south from Wolvercot to Iffley. The descriptions of buildings, monuments, fittings, and glass are terse and accompanied by efficient apparatus for topical or cross reference to text or illustrations and even by an armorial and a glossary of technical terms. It should be noted that the terms of reference of the Historical Monuments Commission confine its attention to monuments of the years before 1714. J. B. BREBNER.

The Viking and the Red Man: The Old Norse Origin of the Algonquin Language. By REIDER T. SHERWIN. (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1940, pp. xxvii, 340, $2.50.)

Innføring i kildene til Norges historie inntil det 19. århundre. By OSCAR ALBERT JOHNSON. (Oslo, Fabritius & Sønners Forlag, 1939, pp. 111, 3.50 kr.) This handbook on the use of sources for the history of Norway, an outgrowth of lectures to students of history at the university in Oslo, is a model of what an introduction to the sources of a country's history should be. Though planned to close with the end of the Danish period it necessarily mentions a good many sources of importance also for the period since 1814. On the works of some modern and contemporary historians there are several keen observations. There is an effort, in dealing with the primary sources, especially of the medieval period, to fit them into their broader historical setting. On two matters the author sounds a note of caution. The skaldic poetry needs to be used more critically than the last generation of scholars has assumed, while the saga accounts, which of late have been held in low esteem in some quarters, may on some matters be counted reliable sources. The sobriety and objectivity with which Professor Johnson discusses the saga and skaldic material is refreshing. O. J. FALNES.

The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. PARRY. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. 75, $1.25.) This is an attractively written and printed little book, which lays emphasis on the liberal and humanitarian theories current in sixteenth century Spain and on the wide gulf which separated those theories from conditions as they actually existed in the New World. It contains little that is new and at the same time is somewhat irritating in its failure to give any identification of figures who, though doubtless famous in the period of Charles V and Philip II, are well-nigh forgotten

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today; Martín Azpilcueta is an illustration of this. One wonders whether the book is addressed to the specialist or to the layman. There are many loose generalizations which can scarcely be supported by the facts. The statement that "the Iberian nations . . . and especially the Kingdom of Castile . . . had achieved long before the rest of Europe centralized government" is a case in point. The final sentence of the book reads as follows: "Imperialism more than any other single cause killed the best political thought in Spain, as it tends eventually to kill all forms of thought." We cannot believe that the growth of the British Empire during the past three centuries has yet succeeded in doing this in England.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

La guerre dans la pensée économique du xvi^e^ au xviii^e^ siècles. By EDMOND SILBERNER, diplomé de l'Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales. Preface by William E. Rappard. [Études sur l'histoire des théories économiques.] (Paris, Sirey, 1939. pp. v, 301. 70 fr.) This terrible second third of the twentieth century may well excite our generation to a renewed study of the part that war has played in the last four centuries of the modern era. In this volume, useful in spite of obvious defects, M. Silberner presents the first of two studies on the importance of the factor of war in the evolution of modern economic thought. The present study embraces the span between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century and unfolds a tableau of striking contrasts in the attitude toward war of the two dominant rival currents of economic thought: mercantilism, which accepted war as an essential, necessary, beneficent, and glorious institution and physiocracy and economic liberalism, which regarded war as an unhappy, unnecessary, and perhaps avoidable accident. M. Silberner's procedure is to analyze one by one the works of French, English, German, and Italian mercantilists and economic liberals, reproduce significant texts, and then present his summary conclusion. Since the discussion of economic liberalism covers well-trodden ground, the first section, devoted to the bellicosity of mercantilists, arrests particular attention. It should be admitted that authors and quotations are judiciously chosen, and taken together they constitute a formidable argument indicating that mercantilism marks a sharp breach with the universalism of the medieval church, however much it may have been dependent upon the traditional practices of medieval urban economy. Yet M. Silberner's method raises serious misgivings in the mind of this reviewer. It oversimplifies the problems involved and makes for repetitious and even superficial analysis. The study lacks the rigorous and critical thoroughness which the importance of the subject requires. Compared with the second volume of Eli Heckscher's *Mercantilism,* which is based on an equal familiarity with important mercantilist authors but wrestles with actual problems and persistently confronts theory with mercantilist practice, the procedure here employed marks a decided methodological regression.

WALTER L. DORN.

Bibliography of Mathematical Works printed in America through 1850. By LOUIS C. KARPINSKI, with the Cooperation for Washington Libraries of WALTER F. SHENTON. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1940, pp. xxvi, 697, 908 figures, $6.00.)

European History, 1500-1815. By MITCHELL B. GARRETT, Professor of Modern European History, University of North Carolina. (New York, American Book Company, 1940, pp. xii, 715, $4.00.)

Reconstruction: Talleyrand à Vienne, 1814-1815. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. (Paris, Plon, 1940, pp. iii, 373, 30 fr.) In this book, a sequel to his *Aventure: Bonaparte en Italie, 1796-1797,* Guglielmo Ferrero joins to a long, and indeed long-winded,

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analysis of the negotiations at the Congress of Vienna some philosophical and sociological reflections on the recent history of Western society. He finds that the congress salvaged all that was good in the work of the French Revolution, that it initiated the wonderful *essor* of the nineteenth century, and that Talleyrand, along with Alexander and Louis XVIII, made this achievement possible. As far as direct acknowledgments go, he seems to feel that he has had no predecessors in this "revision" of earlier historians' judgments on the congress and on Talleyrand. M. Ferrero's speculative framework is simple. Stability in human societies is always incomplete, since the reactions of men, unlike those of ants, are not perfectly predictable. Relative stability is attained in human society by force—"iron chains"—or by habit and consent—"silken threads". In the old regime the silken threads had worn to invisibility, and the "spirit of adventure" roused in 1789 destroyed them completely. Once they were gone, however, men were delivered over to their fears, and the "grande peur" which was to last until 1814 began. Napoleon, the totalitarian adventurer, forged the new and necessary iron chains, but by the miraculous co-operation of Talleyrand, Alexander, and Louis XVIII Europe was spared the fate of the Roman world after the third century A.D., and a new order, a new set of silken threads, was made at Vienna. The order of 1814 was destroyed in 1914, and a new "grande peur" began, of which the war of 1939 seems to be the culmination. We can be saved from the iron chains of totalitarianism only by an elite which possesses the subtle gifts necessary for the work of reconstruction. M. Ferrero has written his book in the hope that it may help a bit to make such an elite conscious of itself and its mission.

CRANE BRINTON.

Campoamor, Spain, and the World. By RONALD HILTON, Assistant Professor of Modern Languages, University of British Columbia. (*Toronto*, University of Toronto Press, 1940, pp. iii, 152, $1.50.) An interesting analysis of the ideas of this nineteenth century Spanish poet on a wide variety of subjects, with ample quotation and reference to pertinent works, is offered to the reader in this monograph. The historian will be most interested in chapter VII, in which the poet's "great man" theory of history is expounded. ARTHUR S. AITON.

Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1789-1939. By A. J. GRANT, Formerly Professor of History in the University of Leeds, and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. With a Supplementary Section dealing with the Year 1938-1939, by LILLIAN M. PENSON, Professor of Modern History in the University of London. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1940, pp. xxiii, 716, $4.00.)

Modern Political Doctrines. Edited by ALFRED ZIMMERN. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. xxxiv, 306, $2.50.) This collection of extracts from the utterances of philosophers, philosopher-statesmen, and statesmen is confined (except for the selections from Burke and Herder) to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The selections are in four groups, as follows: "Government", dealing with the issues between arbitrary and aristocratic authority and liberal democracy; "Economic Problems", containing chiefly some classic statements of doctrines of socialism and social reform; "Nationality, Nationalism, and Racialism", with selections from Herder, Fichte, Mazzini, Acton, Renan, Gobineau, Houston Chamberlain, Lenin, Hitler, and a few others; and "The Problem of International Order", confined to the period since 1918 and to statements on the League of Nations and other projects of international co-operation. The last group indicates the chief practical objective of the whole collection, which is "to promote international understanding by providing guidance in the study" of ideas that "are active and combative in the contemporary world and constitute so

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large a part of the driving power of present-day international politics". The eminent editor contributes a twenty-three-page introduction, identifying, with incisive comment, the selections. Most of the extracts are too brief (three hundred pages for the forty-four extracts, one page each for Burke and Hegel) to be of much independent value for an advanced student. Nearly every selection, however, is a significant utterance, and the collection puts in a very handy form a wide variety of ideas that are of immediate concern to us.

FRANCIS W. COKER.

The World since 1914. By WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM, Union College. Fourth edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xviii, 1024, $3.75.)

War Letters of Augustus Trowbridge, August 28, 1917, to January 19, 1919. Edited by DEOCH FULTON. (New York, New York Public Library, 1940, pp. vii, 152, $1.00.) These letters were written by Major Augustus Trowbridge, formerly professor of physics at Princeton, while a member of the General Staff of the American Expeditionary Force in France. Most of them were written to his wife, and a few to other members of his family. In September, 1938, Mrs. Trowbridge gave the New York Public Library transcriptions of the early letters and originals of the others, with copies of her husband's official reports, collections of pamphlets on sound ranging and war propaganda, photographs of battlefields, and other material.

The 25th Army Brigade, R. G. A., on the Western Front in 1918. By C. S. B. BUCKLAND, Sometime Captain and Adjutant, R. G. A. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1940, pp. xi, 110, 7*s*. 6*d*.)

A Man who found a Country. By Dr. A. NAKASHIAN. (New York, Crowell, 1940, pp. viii, 279, $2.75.) This is a "Horse and Buggy Doctor" story, told in a simple, unvarnished style by an Armenian physician and relating mostly to that part of Asiatic Turkey wherein is set Werfel's famous *Forty Days of Musa Dagh*. Its octogenarian author not only describes vividly the life in its typically backward, Oriental setting from the 1880's down to the 1920's but also pays glowing tribute to the beneficial work done by our devout but often misunderstood missionaries throughout the Ottoman Empire. The book is illustrated and ends early in 1924, the year in which the author arrived in New York and "found a Country".

A. O. SARKISSIAN.

Sufferance is the Badge: The Jew in the Contemporary World. By ABRAM LEON SACHAR, Formerly Associate in European History at the University of Illinois. (New York, Knopf, 1939, pp. xviii, 585, xiii, $3.50.) Dr. Sachar's well-written survey of the position of the Jews in the contemporary world may also serve as a general introduction to their postwar history. Geographically arranged, it begins, understandably enough, with Germany and ends with Palestine and the United States. The tenor of the presentation, well described by the Shakespearean phrase in the title, follows the venerable tradition of the "lachrymose" conception of Jewish history, which seems to be borne out by the Jews' sufferings during the last twenty years even more than by many a previous period of their history. Nevertheless, one would have wished to see the monotone of persecution or nonpersecution set off against the polyphonic richness of their synchronous cultural and communal experience. Addressed principally to the general reader, whose emotions and intellectual interests are taken into equal account, the volume is based upon a literature which, as cited in the "Selected Bibliography", is largely journalistic or downright fictional and upon newspaper reports, especially those gathered by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. It is also marred by frequent inaccuracies (the preface itself begins with a statistical inexactitude; the

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first names of well-known leaders or writers such as Meyer Sulzberger and Saul Tchernichovsky are misquoted in both the text and the index, etc.). Despite these obvious shortcomings it ought to fulfill its main purpose of giving the interested reader a bird's-eye view of the contemporary Jewish situation. Informed historians and publicists, too, will be grateful to the author for data which may have escaped their attention as well as for the numerous characteristic anecdotes and telling witticisms which not only enliven his narrative but, being largely current now by word of mouth only, are therewith preserved for posterity. SALO W. BARON.

Canada, Europe, and Hitler. By WATSON KIRKCONNELL, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. vii, 213, $1.50.) The most original and valuable part of this book is the chapter devoted to an analysis of European-Canadian opinion. The author uses the term "European-Canadians" to designate the two and a half million Canadians whose origin is neither British nor French. He devotes particular attention to the German, Ukrainian, Scandinavian, Polish, Italian, Finnish, Hungarian, Yugoslav, and Jewish elements in the population of Canada. His analysis of opinion in these various groups is based upon extensive knowledge of the foreign language press of Canada.

A History of Agriculture in Europe and America. By NORMAN SCOTT BRIEN GRAS, Professor of Business History, Harvard University. Second edition. (New York, Crofts, 1940, pp. xxvii, 496, $3.50.) This volume first appeared in 1925 (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI, 299-301). In addition to minor changes in the text of the first edition, the second edition contains a new thirty-page chapter covering the period 1920-40. Entitled "Distress and Relief in American Agriculture", this additional chapter especially emphasizes the following: (1) factors responsible for agricultural distress such as economic changes, weather conditions, and lack of zest on the part of farmers; (2) the influence of the men on the job—dirt and gentlemen farmers, farm managers, professional leaders of agricultural causes, farm machinery manufacturers and dealers, technicians, agricultural and social economists, politicians, and even historians; (3) the effect of the business cycle on agriculture; (4) the New Deal and agriculture; (5) sample farms and estates as illustrative of regional differences; (6) technical advance; (7) industrial markets for farm products; (8) farm management; and (9) conflicts and alternatives in American agriculture. In conformity with the earlier material, the new chapter is equipped with abundant marginal headings and a varied list of "Suggestions for Further Study". This revision unquestionably enhances the value of what has already proved to be a very useful volume.

HARRY J. CARMAN.

The Pacific Area in American Research: A List of Current Research Projects, Spring, 1940. (New York, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940, pp. iii, 40, $1.00, mimeographed.)

ARTICLES[1]

DEMETRIUS B. ZEMA. Toward a Philosophy of History. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov.

GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE. Cleopatra's Needle. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar. Bull.*, Oct.

GWENDOLEN M. KIDD. Historical Museums in Canada. *Can. Hist. Rev.*, Sept.

LOREN C. MACKINNEY. Research on the History of Medicine, in American Universities: I, The University of North Carolina. *Bull. Hist. Med.*, Oct.

[1] Our readers will note that some of the lists of articles in this issue are unusually short. This is because of war conditions, which have resulted in the interruption or suspension of publication of many European historical periodicals and delay in their transmission to this country.

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D. V. S. Reddy. Medicine at the Moghul Court. *Jour. Indian Hist.*, Apr.

Charles Moran. From Greenland's Icy Mountains. *U. S. Naval Inst. Proc.*, Sept.

A Group of Articles dealing with the Early History of Printing. *Zentralbl. f. Bibliotheks-wesen*, LVII, nos. 5-6.

William Jerome Wilson. The Textual Relations of the Thacher Manuscript on Columbus and Early Portuguese Navigations. *Papers Bibliograph. Soc. Am.*, XXXIV, no. 3.

William B. Greenlee. A Descriptive Bibliography of the History of Portugal. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Aug.

Charles E. Nowell. Vasco da Gama—First Count of Vidigueira. *Ibid.*

Edward Hagemann. Portugual and the Society of Jesus. *Hist. Bull.*, Nov.

Boies Penrose. Some Jacobean Links between America and the Orient. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Oct.

Hsüan-min Liu. Russo-Chinese Relations up to the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689). *Chinese Soc. and Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Jan.-Mar., 1940.

Walter Fuchs. Der russisch-chinesische Vertrag von Nertschinsk vom Jahre 1689: Eine textkritische Betrachtung. *Monumenta Serica*, 1940, no. 2.

Herbert Aptheker. The Quakers and Negro Slavery. *Jour. Negro Hist.*, July.

Lawrence Martin. Antarctica discovered by a Connecticut Yankee, Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer. *Geograph. Rev.*, Oct.

Hans Joachim Beyer. Hauptlinien einer Geschichte der ostdeutschen Volksgruppen im 19. Jahrhundert. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLXII, no. 3.

Hugo Grothe. Zur Umsiedlungsbewegung der Volksdeutschen des europäischen Ostens und Südostens, inbesondere der Deutschbalten. *Arch. f. Wanderungswesen u. Auslandkunde*, XVII, nos. 1-2.

Reinhard Wittram. 1870/71 im Erlebnis der baltischen Deutschen. *Deut. Arch. f. Landes- u. Volksforsch.*, May.

Otto Fischer. Zur Volksbiologie der deutschen Siedlungen in Bessarabien. *Ibid.*

Hans Grimm. Russlanddeutsche und Donaudeutsche als Volksgruppen unterschiedlicher Fruchtbarkeit. *Ibid.*

Abraham Margolies. The Changing Vogue of Liberalism. *Social Stud.*, Oct.

Halford L. Hoskins. Suez Canal Problems. *Geograph. Rev.*, Oct.

J. A. R. Marriott. H. A. L. Fisher. *Quar. Rev.*, July.

Elbridge Colby. The March of the 26th. *Infantry Jour.*, Sept.

Francesco Coppola. La nuova guerra europea: Le origini, 1919. *Politica*, Mar.

Mario Toscano. Italien und Frankreich, 1918-1940. *Berl. Monatsh.*, Sept.

Louis B. Boudin. Private Law as Public Law. *National Lawyers Guild Quar.*, July.

Gilbert J. Garraghan. The Jesuit Quadricentennial, 1940. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.

Ralph J. Bunche. The Rôle of the University in the Political Orientation of Negro Youth. *Jour. Negro Educ.*, Oct.

Oskar Schmieder. Die grundsätzliche Bedeutung der deutschen Kolonistenarbeit für die kulturelle Entwicklung Südamerikas. *Deut. Arch. f. Landes- u. Volksforsch.*, May.

Documents

Ludwig Bittner. Neue Beiträge zur Haltung Kaiser Wilhelms II. in der Faschodafrage. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLXII, no. 3.

E. C. Helmreich. A Proposed Russian-Turkish Agreement of 1908. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, Dec.

ANCIENT HISTORY[1]

T. R. S. Broughton

Tax Rolls from Karanis. Part II, *Text and Indexes.* Edited by Herbert Chayyim Youtie and Orsamus Merrill Pearl. [University of Michigan Studies.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1939, pp. xv, 266, plates iii, $4.00.) The new fragments of the tax rolls of Karanis published in Part II are placed in the

[1] Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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revised table of the papyri at the beginning of the volume. In addition, number 359 consists of fragments of a new roll, a daybook of the fifteenth year, and numbers 360, 361, and 362 are accounts of arrears not entered in the contemporary daybooks. The list of addenda and corrigenda covers five pages, but corrections are remarkably few if the enormous length of the tax rolls of Part I is considered; furthermore the list contains the complete text of two columns revised after the discovery of new fragments. Twenty lists of taxpayers and their payments precede the usual categories of indexes. These lists give notable assistance in controlling the payments scattered over the vast length of the tax rolls, although there is some initial difficulty in learning the system of abbreviation adopted by the editors. The index of personal names, following the best practice, is arranged according to family relationships and so extends to more than a hundred pages, and a grim determination to give a complete index of all Greek words except the definite article has resulted in single items followed by two solid columns of reference numbers. The wisdom of postponing such indexes to a second volume is thus made obvious. For the editors' solution of problems raised by these great tax rolls we must await the appearance of Part III, which is to contain a few additional fragments as well as a commentary on all the texts.

S. L. WALLACE.

Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Postclassical Roman Law. By HANS JULIUS WOLFF, Professor of Roman and Civil Law at the University of Panama. [Philological Monographs.] (Haverford, American Philological Association, to be ordered through the agent of the Association, Lancaster Press, Lancaster, 1939, pp. vii, 128, $1.50.) Justinian introduced an apparently new element into classical marriage law when he made the validity of a marriage depend upon the drawing up of a contract. The general rule in antiquity made the consent of the parties the sole requirement for legal marriage. In this study of written and unwritten marriages Professor Wolff has undertaken to show: first, that Ptolemaic marriage law was essentially the same as classical Greek law, which did not require a written contract; second, that the *agraphos gamos* of the Roman period was as valid juridically as the *engraphos gamos;* and finally, that Justinian's legislation was not due to the adoption of provincial ideas but arose rather from the latest classic Roman law under Christian influence. As a basis for his arguments Professor Wolff has used papyrus sources for the most part, and the problem is one of great interest both to the papyrologist and to the jurist. The copious references to previous literature cited in the footnotes show the extent to which the problems of Hellenistic marriage law, particularly as exemplified in the papyri, have engaged the attention of scholars. The reasonable and well-founded views put forth by the author are convincing and easily accepted. As an appendix the author has published the papyrus text, P. Berol. 16121, a marriage contract of the late Ptolemaic period. The badly mutilated but unusually interesting text has been carefully edited with excellent commentary. The book fully meets the high standards we have come to expect from the monographs published by the American Philological Association.

ELINOR MULLETT HUSSELMAN.

GENERAL ARTICLES

A. SCHARFF. Die Bedeutungslosigkeit des sogenannten ältesten Datums der Weltgeschichte und einige sich daraus ergebende Folgerungen für ägyptische Geschichte und Archäologie. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLXI, no. 1.

H. D. SCHAEDEL. Ein Prinz aus dem Totentempel des Königs Sahurê. *Zeitsch. Aegypt. Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXXVI.

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LEROY WATERMAN. Moses the Pseudo-Levite. *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, Sept.
JULIAN MORGENSTERN. Chronological Data of the Dynasty of Omri. *Ibid.*
S. LAUFFER. Medeon. *Athen. Mitteil.*, LXIII/IV.
A. B. WACE. The Treasury of Atreus. *Antiquity*, Sept.
C. W. BLEGEN. New Evidence for Dating the Settlements at Troy. *An. Brit. School Athens*, XXXVII.
FRITZ SCHACHERMEYR. Zur Indogermanizierung Griechenlands. *Klio*, XXXII, no. 3.
T. J. DUNBABIN. Ἔχθρη παλαίη. *An. Brit. School Athens*, XXXVII.
A. ANDREWES. Athens and Aegina, 510-480 B. C. *Ibid.*
H. T. WADE-GERY. Themistocles' Archonship. *Ibid.*
WERNER PEEK. Ein Seegefecht aus den Perserkriegen. *Klio*, XXXII, no. 3.
N. L. G. HAMMOND. The Campaign in Amphilochia during the Archidamian War. *An. Brit. School Athens*, XXXVII.
A. W. GOMME. Two Notes on the Athenian Tribute-Lists. *Class. Rev.*, June.
W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT. The Term of Office of the Strategoi. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Oct.
H. D. WESTLAKE. Corinth and the Argive Coalition. *Ibid.*
FREDERICK H. CRAMER. Isolationism: A Case History. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, Oct.
C. A. ROBINSON, JR. Alexander's Plans. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Oct.
WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. Ptolemais and the Archon Sortition Cycles. *Ibid.*
SOLOMON ZEITLIN. The Maccabean Struggle. *Jewish Quar. Rev.*, Oct.
M. DEGANI. Il periodo eneolitico nella provincia di Reggio Emilia. *Röm. Mitteil.*, LIV, nos. 3-4.
A. H. MCDONALD. The History of Rome and Italy in the Second Century B. C. *Cam. Hist. Jour.*, VI, no. 2.
J. G. MILNE. The 'Philippus' Coin at Rome. *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, XXX, no. 1.
P. L. STRACK. Zur *Tribunicia Potestas* des Augustus. *Klio*, XXXII, no. 4.
ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS. Drusus Caesar's Tribunician Power. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, Oct.
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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Gray C. Boyce

Geschichte des Elsass. Volume I, *Politische Geschichte des Landes von der Landnahmezeit bis zum Tode Ottos III.* By Dr. Heinrich Büttner. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1939, pp. 224, 9.90 M.) A political history of Alsace to the death of Otto III furnishes some timely clues as

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to the roots (political as well as historical and racial) of a conflict that has lasted for so many centuries. Emanating from a country where historical research on such a controversial topic is subject to particularly severe supervision, direct or implied, by a watchful government, this publication has to be perused with some caution. The selection of sources is not comprehensive. French sources, especially French periodical literature, are used rather sparingly. The omission of works like those of Rodolphe Käppelin and Julius Krug-Bosse is strange in a study dedicated to the history of Alsace. Equally uneven is the selection of Swiss literature on the subject. Almost throughout, only those Swiss authors are cited whose views lend themselves to what may be termed the real purpose underlying Dr. Büttner's study, a purpose that may be gleaned from the subtitle, which explains his intention to limit the scope of his work to the period between the Germanic migrations and the reign of Otto III. The Germanic character of Alsace is emphasized throughout the book, which therefore belongs to the long list of works dedicated to "prove" the German (or alternately the French) character of the territory, which after all seems most closely related (not only racially but also culturally) to the Germanic section of Switzerland. While for the time being arms have done away with the need for the more subtle kind of propaganda which Dr. Büttner indulges in, the reader may find a melancholy value in consulting two recent publications which view the Alsatian question from the French angle: Felix Ponteil's *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Alsace* (Strasbourg, 1937) and Jean Giraudoux's propagandistic swan-song, *Alsace et Lorraine* (Paris, 1939). FREDERICK H. CRAMER.

Om Theodoricus og hans "Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium". By ARNE ODD JOHNSEN. [Det norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.] (Oslo, Jacob Dybwad, 1939, pp. 112, 6 kr.) This monograph is an effort to establish the identity of that Theodoricus Monachus who wrote the first history of Norway's medieval kings, which served also as a piece of "camouflaged propaganda writing for the Norwegian church" in its struggle with the Norwegian monarchy. The conclusion reached is that Theodoricus may well have been Tore, the archbishop who sat on the see of Nidaros (or Trondheim) from 1205 to 1214. The author of the *Historia* must, to judge from its tone and content, have been familiar with the wider European scholarship of his day. But that must have meant familiarity with French culture, French specifically, and not the Anglo-Norman tradition. About the time Theodoricus may have been studying in Paris, there were two Norwegians studying at the monastery of St. Victor in Paris. One was the later Bishop Tore of Hamar, the other the later Archbishop Tore of Nidaros. It seems clear that Tore was rendered in Latin as Theodoricus, so the author of the *Historia* must have been one of these two ecclesiastics. Johnsen gives his reasons for concluding that Theodoricus is most likely identical with the later Archbishop of Nidaros. O. J. FALNES.

Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by MARION GIBBS, Former Scholar of St. Hilda's College, Oxford. [Camden Third Series, Volume LVIII.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1939, pp. xlviii, 338.) About the middle of the thirteenth century the chapter of St. Paul's, London, compiled a great cartulary. Its importance has long been realized, and some of the charters have already been published. In this volume of "early charters" the Camden Society prints the original cartulary in its entirety. Only one of its documents antedates the Conquest—an Anglo-Saxon writ of Edward the Confessor. St. Paul's, of course, had a long and important history before the Conquest. Upon this history the editor of the present volume has

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been able to throw some light through her discovery in the Bodleian of extracts which were made in the early seventeenth century from a roll, now lost, of Saxon charters of St. Paul's. These extracts include a charter of Ethelred, king of the Mercians, and one of Offa, king of the East Saxons, both of the early eighth century. Unfortunately, the extracts are quite fragmentary and extend in all to only a half-dozen printed pages. As is the case with every important collection of medieval charters, this cartulary of St. Paul's contains a wealth of information for research workers of many types. The constitutional history of St. Paul's and the topography of London and its environs are two subjects for which the present volume is especially useful. Biographical details relating to many of the leading personages of the times will also be found here. There is much to interest the student of legal and administrative history. The reviewer has found the "Index Rerum" to be helpful and reliable. There is also an adequate index of names and places. WARREN O. AULT.

Vita economica delle abbazie piemontesi, sec. x-xiv. By FRANCESCO GOSSO. [Analecta Gregoriana.] (Rome, Gregorian University, 1940, pp. 215, 25 l.) The documents of the monasteries of Piedmont published in *Biblioteca società storica subalpina* furnish the basis for this very interesting and suggestive study. The appropriate volumes have been carefully examined for data on the economic organization of the monasteries from the tenth to the fourteenth century. This doctoral thesis of Francesco Gosso, a priest of Turin, is concerned with only the section of Piedmont in the upper Po Valley, stretching south from Turin almost to Cuneo, a distance of about fifty miles. Eight houses, Benedictine and Cistercian, are included in the study. First the possessions of each house are listed. There are useful maps showing the places studied and the location of the possessions of each house. The second part is a comparison of the Benedictine and Cistercian systems of administering their lands, and the third deals with the religious life of the monasteries accompanying the social and economic changes of the period. The Benedictine houses followed the manorial system of organization, while the Cistercians cultivated their lands directly, using free laborers, monks, and their large numbers of *conversi*. The Cistercian houses prospered, while the Benedictine houses suffered more and more from competition with the new economic order, saw services and payments in kind changed into money payments and their lands almost alienated by the plan of leasing them for a fixed sum of money. In 1266 the Cistercian house of Casanova was able to buy a large estate from the commune and men of Rocconigi, who needed money to build a wall around their town. In the same century the Benedictine house of S. Solutore pawned two books to get money to dig ditches on the land of the monastery. Free communes developed tardily in this section; its economic life is still predominantly agrarian. GENEVA DRINKWATER.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

British Empire

F. H. Herrick

The Church of England. By Herbert Hensley Henson, Sometime Bishop of Durham, Hon. Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. [English Institutions, General Editor, Lord Stamp.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xvi, 264, $2.50.) The general editor, in his preface, mentions the difficulty which he has experienced in explaining the position of the Church of England to Americans and other uninformed persons and seems to imply that the present work is intended to furnish such an explanation. If that is its object, it is not likely to be very successful. The author himself believes that the present church establishment is hopelessly paradoxical, his work is loosely organized, and he presupposes too much knowledge on the part of his readers. It is probable that a beginner in ecclesiastical history would be more confused when he put the book down than when he took it up. To those who already know something of the subject, however, Bishop Henson offers a well-informed and thought-provoking commentary on the past and present career of *Ecclesia Anglicana.* No serious student of English institutions will want to miss a book which sparkles, as this does, with keen, incisive criticism and with brilliantly suggestive interpretations of historical events, remote and recent. The numerous illustrations have been intelligently selected and are admirably reproduced. The one on the jacket, which shows an ecclesiastic being nice to a field hand, is a delightfully sharp bit of satire which admirably expresses the spirit of the book.

W. W. Manross.

Elizabeth, the Tudor Princess. By Marian King. (New York, Stokes, 1940, pp. x, 189, $2.00.)

Sir Edwin Sandys and the First Parliament of James I. By Willard Mosher Wallace. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, privately printed, 1940, pp. viii, 114.) In this little volume Mr. Wallace publishes three chapters of his thesis, which deals with the parliamentary career of Sir Edwin Sandys from 1604 to 1610; but the portion published here is confined to the session of 1604. Thus we are given a cross section of Sandys's highly important career. A discussion of his part in such matters as purveyance and union with Scotland in 1604, however, seems rather inadequate without some mention of developments in 1606 and 1607. Judged as a doctoral dissertation these chapters merit considerable praise. They show Mr. Wallace as a competent and promising student who can handle sources and has read widely in his field. His discussion of economic questions is particularly good. It would be strange indeed if his work at this stage did not display a certain immaturity. There is a tendency to introduce material which has little to do with Sandys; there are unnecessary references to secondary works; there are sentences that might be phrased more happily; there are a number of misprints. It is greatly to be hoped, however, that Mr. Wallace will give us a fuller picture of Sandys in this and in later parliaments.

David Harris Willson.

The Good Lord Lyttelton: A Study in Eighteenth Century Politics and Culture. By Rose Mary Davis. (Bethlehem, Times Publishing Company, 1939, pp. ix, 443, $2.50.) The character of Lord Lyttelton revealed in the work of his latest biographer differs little from that already familiar to students of the period. In politics "a follower rather than a leader", in literature a writer of verse that "reflects culture rather than inspiration" and of prose "characterized by almost

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unrelieved dullness", Lyttelton was nevertheless an example of the best type of eighteenth century gentleman, and his varied activities were so entwined in the political and literary history of his time that a careful study of his career is decidedly worth while. The present work is a well-organized collection of practically all available information pertinent to the subject. While the unpublished Lyttelton Papers at Blenheim were unfortunately not accessible, Miss Davis has restudied the Hagley manuscripts and has collected items of information from public and private sources as distant as California, South Africa, and Hawaii. For a doctoral dissertation the style is well above the average, although the book consists chiefly of plain statements of documented fact bearing directly upon the central figure, with only a necessary minimum of discussion and contemporary history. Considering the author's care in research, which has made possible a great number of valuable corrections of detail in the works of others, it is unfortunate that typographical and other minor errors occasionally mar her own pages: for example, the date 1741 (p. 124) should be 1744, and the *Country Gentleman* (foot of p. 77, and p. 422) is obviously the *Country Journal,* commonly called the *Craftsman,* which neither began in 1727 nor ended in 1735 (p. 422). Phillimore's *Memoirs,* with all their faults, will remain useful for letters which Miss Davis, in the interest of readability, paraphrases or quotes briefly, but for a complete, scholarly account of Lyttelton's career Miss Davis's work definitely supersedes previous studies. CHARLES B. REALEY.

Mr. Pitt and America's Birthright: A Biography of William Pitt, the Earl of Chatham, 1708-1778. By J. C. LONG. (New York, Stokes, 1940, pp. xiii, 576, $3.50.) The author of this breezy volume does not profess to have searched in new places or to have added to the store of information already available. He ranges from the Temples, Grenvilles, and Pitts of yore to Pelham Grenville Wodehouse and Shirley Temple. Seeking to point analogies with current events, he speaks repeatedly of an "Anglo-Saxon system" as contrasted with "the totalitarian Bourbons". He attributes Pitt's "English principles" to the influence of his irascible grandfather. In an effort to lighten the narrative such terms are used as the "tart and vigorous widow Marlborough"; Lady Caroline Russell is called "the Bedford girl"; the duke of Bedford is described as "often in the political camp of the Whigs and . . . related to various of the leading Whig families". According to Mr. Long, Pitt "built the foundations of the present Anglo-Saxon empire . . . reclaimed the Magna Carta from the archives, and . . . was the protagonist of constitutional democracy against Bourbonism, dictators, and the mob". He "raised a nation from the dust and democracy from the scrap heap", "scorned monarchs and peers, plutocrats and placeholders", "brought honesty to the Army, integrity to the State, and dignity to the common people". Readers acquainted with the history of the period will disagree with interpretations and distrust statements in this book in so many particulars that few will be disposed to accept the author's invitation, tendered in lieu of footnotes, to make "inquiries . . . relative to the authority for any specific facts".

W. T. LAPRADE.

John Brunton's Book: Being the Memories of John Brunton, Engineer, from a Manuscript in his Own Hand written for his Grandchildren and Now First Printed. With an Introduction by J. H. CLAPHAM. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. viii, 163, $2.50.) A more satisfying evocation of the Victorian engineer in action, at home and abroad, could hardly be imagined, for Brunton seems perfect of his kind, and he writes without any affectation. Born in 1812 into an engineering clan, he attended the first session of the University of London but began his life work with engineering shop work in

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Cornwall at the age of sixteen. After some extraordinary experiences while laying out a colliery railway among the primitive and barbaric Welsh, he became an assistant engineer for the Stephensons at about nineteen, and thereafter railway building, particularly in India, was his principal occupation. One remarkable interlude in association with T. K. Brunel saw him defy and generally outwit the military and naval departments of his country in order to do an efficient, economical job in hospital construction for the Crimean War. Not the least enjoyable aspect of the book is the unstudied fashion in which it gives side lights on the courage, simple piety, and strong family feelings of the Victorian builders. Brunton makes Smiles's *Lives of the Engineers* quite credible.

J. B. Brebner.

C. F. G. Masterman: A Biography. By Lucy Masterman. (London, Nicholson and Watson, 1939, pp. 400, 18*s*.) Charles Frederick Gurney Masterman (1873-1927) was an English Liberal whose checkered political career included two episodes of enduring historical interest. One of these was his sponsorship of the National Health Insurance Act, enacted into law after bitter parliamentary controversy in 1911-12. Masterman was appointed the first administrator of the statute and performed yeoman service in organizing "socialized medicine" in Great Britain. The second permanently significant responsibility which came to Masterman was his selection as director of "Wellington House", the secret propaganda organization of the British government set up shortly after war broke out in August, 1914. Here, too, Masterman accomplished remarkable results, which, as his biographer justly observes, have been much too lightly appraised by most historians since. The chapter on the Wellington House organization from 1914 to 1918 (pp. 272-308) is much the most interesting portion of the book and is well worthy of consideration today. Masterman was a brilliant but erratic man who moved in the highest political, social, and intellectual circles of Great Britain. His faithful wife has written an admiring yet not exaggerated estimate of his busy life. All students of the golden years of twentieth century Liberalism in Great Britain will be indebted to her. James Duane Squires.

Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1938-1939 (Ottawa, the Association, 1940, pp. 110, 65.) This work includes the following papers: "The Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell, D. D., First Bishop of Upper Canada", by Donald R. Macdonald; "Glengarry's Representatives in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada", by W. L. Scott; "Lord Selkirk's Efforts to establish a Settlement for Irish Catholics at the Red River", by John J. Connolly; "Francis Collins, First Catholic Journalist in Upper Canada", by the Rev. Brother Alfred; "The Hon. Edward Whelan: A Father of Confederation from Prince Edward Island, One of Ireland's Gifts to Canada", by Emmet J. Mullally; "Senator The Hon. Michael Sullivan, M. D.", by William Gibson; "The Particular Council of Ottawa, St. Vincent de Paul Society", by John A. Macdonald; "Kingston à la fin du régime français", by Olivier Maurault; "Les ordres de chevalerie religieuse au Canada", by Victor Morin; and "Notes sur Roubaud et sur sa responsabilité dans la nomination de M. Briand comme évêque de Québec", by Arthur Maheux.

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WILHELM TREUE. Die Entstehung von Scapa Flow. *Berl. Monatsh.*, May.

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Id. Parliament in Wartime. *Pol. Quar.*, July-Sept.

H. MCD. CLOKIE. The British Dominions and Neutrality. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, Aug.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

The Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem of Jean Bodin: A Critical Study. By JOHN L. BROWN. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1939, pp. xx, 212, $2.00.) After a résumé of the few known facts of Bodin's life and a consideration of his legal interests, this work places the *Methodus* in its proper setting between the humanistic semihistorical writings of the early Renaissance and the pre-Cartesian skeptical works of the seventeenth century. The emphasis of the book is more generally cultural than political. Dr. Brown points out that Bodin was studying universal history primarily with a view to the understanding of comparative jurisprudence and instances the contemporary works of Baudouin and Hotman. There is one chapter on the content of the *Methodus,* discussing some of the principles out of which are woven Bodin's interpretation of history, and another comparing the *Methodus* to the later *République,* so that we are able to trace the development of their author's concepts, particularly with regard to sovereignty and the position of the prince. The liberal attitude of 1566 has been warped by the disorder of the religious wars and the obvious need for a strong executive. In 1576 Bodin's sovereign was more nearly absolute, although even here Dr. Brown feels that there are qualifications. (See page 155, but compare introduction, page xix.) It is worth while stressing the fact that Bodin as an absolutist has been overrated. What he wrote under critical conditions is hardly a fair measure of the man. In criticism of details, I would comment upon the consistent misspelling of Melanchthon and the overabundance of Latin quotations in the body of the text. It is a strange fact that although the *République* has been translated into several languages, the earlier and more liberal treatise has remained for so long in its original form. An English translation is now nearly completed. B. REYNOLDS.

Le Président de Brosses et ses amis de Genève. By YVONNE BEZARD. [Études de Littérature étrangère et comparée.] (Paris, Boivin, n.d., pp. 253, 50 fr.) Charles de Brosses, president of the parlement of Burgundy, is emerging from an ill-merited obscurity. Four years ago Dr. A. C. Taylor published a study on his views regarding Australia (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XLIV, 614). The present volume is the third collection of his correspondence published by Mlle. Bezard. It contains a total of 104 items, including 43 letters from Brosses and 53 letters to him, taken from the original manuscripts in the Geneva Public Library and in the archive of Count André de Brosses. Mlle. Bezard has done a model piece of editing. There is nothing startling or important in these letters. But the student who is weary of looking at the eighteenth century through the eyes of Voltaire, Rousseau, and other celebrities will read them with pleasure. Written in the period 1743 to 1777, they treat such topics as the War of the Austrian Succession, the genius and the wickedness of Frederick the Great, and Buffon's theories in natural history. One of the most interesting letters is Brosses's reply to Professor Pictet, who had expressed alarm lest the magistrate's *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes* should encourage colonial expansion. Brosses wrote: "I am neither presumptuous enough to imagine that the ministers will adopt my ideas nor fool enough to desire to waste my time giving them to them" (p. 140). C. L. LOKKE.

Marie-Joseph Chénier: Early Political Life and Ideas, 1789-1794. By ALFRED JEPSON BINGHAM. (New York, privately printed, on sale at the Columbia University Bookstore, 1939, pp. xiv, 210, $1.50.) It is sometimes forgotten that there were

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two poets named Chénier and that both, being brothers, played parts in the French Revolution. The elder, André, author of *La jeune captive,* is the more famous, but the younger, Marie-Joseph, was better known to his own generation because his revolutionary activity was both more radical and more important. Indeed the brothers were political antagonists, and André, a Feuillant, inclining more and more toward royalism, was guillotined just three days before Robespierre, while Marie-Joseph, though he sincerely mourned his brother, managed not only to survive but to play a minor political part even under Napoleon. This will presumably be recounted in the subsequent volume promised by Mr. Bingham; the present one ends in 1794. Marie-Joseph, who was a Centrist and had friends in many groups, is best known as the author of *Charles IX* and the *Chant du départ,* but he wrote a whole series of historical plays with revolutionary purpose besides composing the lyrics for most of the festivals of the Revolution. He was a member of the Convention and took an active part in matters of education and in the Festival of Reason. He was only a secondary personality, however, and not without weakness and vanity, though Mr. Bingham labors industriously to minimize these traits. The volume is attractive in spite of careless proofreading. The scholarly apparatus is admirable, and the book seems to be the first in the field. EUGENE N. CURTIS.

Chateaubriand: A Biography. By JOAN EVANS. (New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xiii, 380, $4.00.)

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FRITZ WAGNER. Frankreich und sein Kolonialreich. *Hist. Zeitsch.,* CLXII, no. 1.

THEODOR KRAUS. Die Ardennen. *Deut. Arch. f. Landes- u. Volksforsch.,* IV, no. 1.

KARL LOEWENSTEIN. The Demise of the French Constitution of 1875. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.,* Oct.

NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

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Old Age in Sweden: A Program of Social Security. By HELEN FISHER HOHMAN, Consultant, Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board. (Washington, Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board, 1940, pp. xiii, 305, 35 cents.)

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W. R. MEAD. Finland in the Sixteenth Century. *Geograph. Rev.,* July.

MICHAEL ROBERTS. The Constitutional Development of Sweden in the Reign of Gustav Adolf. *History,* Mar.

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S. R. BJÖRKSTEN. Fredsfördraget mellan Finland och Ryssland. *Nord. Tids.,* 1940, no. 3.

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P. P. SVEISTRUP. Danmarks økonomi ved krigens begyndelse. *Statsvet. Tids.,* 1940, no. 1.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Propaganda in Germany during the Thirty Years War. By ELMER A. BELLER. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1940, pp. 49, $10.00.) In this beautifully printed and illustrated small quarto Professor Beller has given us a well-documented survey of his researches into the manufacture of public opinion at an early period. He believes that "the media employed by the propagandist three hundred years ago were similar to those of today". This is certainly true for printing, and Professor Beller rightly observes that "the printed word was necessary before propaganda could assume its modern importance". Maybe radio will turn out in retrospect to have been a similar turning point, for in the four hundred years between the invention of the printing press and that of the radio we certainly find a striking similarity of techniques "to influence and detect events". The activities of the various factions—Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists—are shown in their popular appeals of glorifying the "cause" while making out the enemy as vile, satanic, and "subhuman". But it is not very clear to this reviewer what the author has in mind when he writes that "the most striking difference between today's propaganda and the seventeenth century's is that in the earlier period war propaganda could be attacked by peace propaganda". Great value can be derived from a careful study of the various broadsides reproduced (with good translations of the texts) in twenty-four admirable plates. The author duly emphasizes the differences in literacy at the three class levels in seventeenth century Germany of village, town, and what he calls the ruling class. He thinks that the latter was uniformly literate. This reviewer has doubts on that score. No doubt the officials advising the princes were very largely literate, but the princes and high aristocracy were not so uniformly. It does not very much affect Professor Beller's conclusion, however, because the prince's councilors would convey to him the propaganda contained in these propaganda tracts. CARL J. FRIEDRICH.

Prologue to War. By ELIZABETH WISKEMANN. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. ix, 332, $3.00.) Completed shortly before the outbreak of armed hostilities in Europe in September, 1939, this volume represents, in Miss Wiskemann's own words, "an attempt to provide an accurate review of some of Germany's pre-war preparations". This goal is admirably achieved in a series of lively descriptions of Nazi activities, through the summer of 1939, in Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Poland, the Baltic states, Switzerland, and, to a lesser extent, the Netherlands and Scandinavia. The record amply justifies the conclusion that National Socialism pursues its aims "through undeclared war until no more can be gained without continuing the policy in the form of open war". It shows, too, how idle were the hopes of those, particularly in the United States and Great Britain, who believed that the Nazis, if only they were left alone, would keep their doctrines to themselves. Miss Wiskemann demonstrates clearly that Hitler's foreign policy is basically an extension of the pre-World War Pan-German movement. She also lays bare the skillful way in which the Nazis have adapted their propaganda techniques to fit the conditions in each particular area of their activity. In the eastern states the method is to utilize the "minority device", impress the peasants with the value to them of the great German grain market, and take full advantage of the dictatorial form of the various national governments; in the western regions much is made of the conditions of industrial unemployment, and every advantage is taken of the freedoms guaranteed by the liberal governmental forms and traditions. Every-

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where, says Miss Wiskemann, the Nazis, putting into practice the tenets of *Mein Kampf*, "have made a science of unscrupulousness".

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Leonardo da Vinci: An Account of his Development as an Artist. By KENNETH CLARK. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1939, pp. xii, 209, $5.00.) This book, which is intended for the general reader, is the result of lectures on Leonardo given by the author at Oxford Royal Institution and Yale. The lecture form has been retained.

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The Statecraft of Machiavelli. By H. Butterfield, Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. (London, G. Bell, 1940, pp. 167, 6*s*.) This essay is an attempt to restore Machiavelli to his own context and to lift the text out of the mass of interpretations which the commentators have built around it. There has been, as Mr. Butterfield says, a tendency to read back into Machiavelli political theories which were formulated only after his time, perhaps partly in consequence of his writings, and therefore to make his thought more unified than it actually was. The result is to crowd out other matter equally present in the text, which does not fit with the interpretation chosen. In this way a body of commentary grows up, presenting Machiavelli from different and sometimes incompatible points of view, none of which is identical with that of Machiavelli himself. The conclusion at which Mr. Butterfield arrives is that Machiavelli intended to make a "scientific" collection of rules for statesmen, maxims that could be followed, more or less mechanically, in all the important vicissitudes of government. For his material Machiavelli depended upon history, assuming the identity of human nature through all the changes of circumstance. He depended relatively little upon observation of contemporary politics and was largely actuated by the uncritical admiration for the ancients which was characteristic of his age. Hence his maxims often depend upon the authority of some ancient writer whom he trusted. In many cases they are doctrinaire, a product of the study rather than of an actual practice of the statesman's art. Often he displayed a love of strategem for its own sake, and in his moral judgments there is a strain of vulgarity. All this is quite true and proper to be kept in mind, especially as a corrective of one-sided interpretations of Machiavelli. What it does not explain—what perhaps Mr. Butterfield did not set out to explain—is the extraordinary interest that Machiavelli has excited in the readers of four centuries.

George H. Sabine.

Sicilia e Piemonte nel 1848-49: Corrispondenza diplomatica del governo del regno di Sicilia del 1848-49 con la missione inviata in Piemonte per l'offerta della corona al Duca di Genova. Edited by the R. Archivio di Stato di Palermo. (Rome, Regio Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 1940, pp. xxi, 308, 45 l.) In July, 1848, the Sicilian parliament adopted a monarchical constitution and offered the crown to the duke of Genoa, second son of Charles Albert, king of Piedmont. The Sicilians were bent on the independence of Sicily. Acceptance of the crown by the duke would mean recognition by the leading power of Italy and by France and England and would leave their abhorred archenemy, the king of Naples, isolated. Hardly had the Sicilian emissaries arrived in Turin with their offer when Piedmont was defeated in north Italy and thrown back on a position in which its government did not dare to risk a war with Naples. The Sicilians quickly saw that their fate rested with England and France, that Palmerston would go no further than to recognize a *fait accompli* if the duke accepted the crown, and that the French were cool because afraid that England would turn Sicily into "a great Malta". But they were instructed to stay on in Turin and keep their offer alive, and they did so until calamity overwhelmed the hopes of Italy in March, 1849. The correspondence here published shows in detail how resourceful and intelligent the Sicilian effort was. It also gives the modern student information and insights at first hand regarding the politics and diplomacy of Piedmont. It makes good reading even for the nonspecialist. The dispatches are at once realistic and charged with the emotions of a great crisis. Besides, one sees emerging from the situation and the minds of those engaged the elements out of which Cavour was presently to fashion his victorious policies.

Kent Roberts Greenfield.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Velikii Poet-Revoliutsioner: Nauchno-Literatyrnii Zbirnik Odes'kogo Derzhavnogo Universitetu, pricviachenii 125-richchro z dnia narogzhennia T. G. Shevchenka, 1814-1939 [the great poet-revolutionary: scientific-literary collection of the Odessa State University in celebration of the 125th anniversary of the birth of T. G. Shevchenko]. (Odessa, Odessa State University, 1939, pp. 296.) This "scientific-literary collection" is the Odessa State University's contribution to the celebration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainian poet and painter who was exiled by Nicholas I because of his attacks on autocracy, serfdom, and the Orthodox Church. Three of the twelve studies comprising the collection are sketches which cover different phases of Shevchenko's life and are skillfully woven from the letters, diaries, and literary works of Shevchenko and his contemporaries. The other studies are critical discussions of the style and content of his writings and paintings. Included also are three poems in his honor and a sketch by his great-grandson, now a student at the university, describing the transformation wrought by socialism in the family's native village. A common thesis underlies the collection: that Shevchenko was primarily a "revolutionary democrat", a militant opponent of czarist oppression and feudal exploitation; and, conversely, that although he loved his native Ukraine, he was not a Ukrainian nationalist. The contributors underscore his admiration for Russian as well as Ukrainian culture; his enmity toward Ukrainian as well as Russian and Polish landlords; his disagreements with Kulish and Kostomarov, prominent Ukrainian nationalists; and his harmonious relations with radical Russian intellectuals such as Chernishevskii, Dobroliubov, Mikhailov, and the Kurochkin brothers. While

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emphasizing Shevchenko's class consciousness, the studies tend to minimize his national consciousness, which was exemplified by much closer relations with the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood, a Ukrainian nationalist organization, than the authors admit. This approach is in keeping with the Soviet policy, especially marked since the offensive against Ukrainian nationalism in 1933-34, to strengthen the ties between Russian and Ukrainian peoples, to dampen nationalist ardor, and to obstruct the dissemination of separatist ideas, however subtle they may be. HAROLD R. WEINSTEIN.

Bor'ba gortzev za nezavisimost' pod rukovodstvom Shamilya [the struggle of the mountaineers for their independence under Shamil's leadership]. By S. K. BUSHUYEV. (Moscow-Leningrad, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1939, pp. 184, 6.50 r.) This is a monograph on Russian expansion in the Caucasus, notably in the regions of Daghestan, Chechnya, and Ingushetia, in the first half of the nineteenth century. The author has drawn on the literature relating to his subject as well as on unpublished records from the following archives: the Central Military-Historical Archives, the Central Archives of Foreign Policy, the Central Archives of the Revolution, the State Archives of the Feudal Epoch, and the Leningrad Section of the Central Historical Archives. The volume is provided with an extensive bibliography.

Arkhiv khivinskikh khanov xix v.: Issledovanie i opisanie dokumentov s istoricheskim vvedeniem [the archives of the Khiva khans of the 19th century: investigation and description of documents with historical introduction]. By P. P. IVANOV. Preface by I. Y. Krachkovski. (Leningrad, Izd. Gosud. Publichnoi Biblioteki, 1940, pp. 287, 15 r.) These official records were confiscated by General Kaufmann in 1873 at the time of his occupation of Khiva, but it was not until 1936 that they were discovered in the Leningrad Public Library, under the auspices of which they have now been published. The documents are grouped according to content and are briefly described, while in a few cases the original text is reproduced in full. The book puts at the disposal of the student fresh source material for the history of the Khivan Khanate in the nineteenth century.

Aux portes du jugement dernier: Élisabeth-Féodorovna, Grande-Duchesse de Russie. By MAURICE PALÉOLOGUE. (Paris, Plon, 1940, pp. ii, 238, 27 fr.)

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V. SHUNKOV. Epizod iz deyatel'nosti angliiskikh kuptzov v Moskovskom gosudarstve xvii veka [an episode in the history of the activities of English merchants in Muscovy in the 17th century]. *Istoricheski arkhiv,* II (1939).

A. I. BORTNIKOV. Kirillo-Mefodiyevskoye obshchestvo [the Society of Sts. Cyril and Methodius]. *Kiyevski gosudarstvennyi universitet, Trudy istoricheskovo fakul'teta,* I (1940).

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G. KACHAPURIDZE. Gruziya vo vtoroi polovine xix veka [Georgia in the second half of the 19th century]. *Istorik-marksist*, 1940, no. 8.

A. MIL'SHTEIN. Vooruzhennoye vosstaniye v Sibiri v 1905 godu [the armed insurrection in Siberia in 1905]. *Ibid.*

I. D. MEL'NIKOV. Brest-Litovski mir i "verkhi" gogentzollernovskoĭ imperii [the peace of Brest-Litovsk and the upper crust of the Hohenzollern Empire]. *Kiyevski gosudarstvennyĭ universitet, Trudy istoricheskovo fakul'teta*, I (1940).

N. S. TIMASHEFF. The Population of Soviet Russia. *Rural Sociol.*, Sept.

VALENTÍN FELDMAN. El problema de las clases medias en la U.R.S.S. *Rev. Mex. Sociol.*, II, no. 2.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Japan's Case examined, with Supplementary Chapters on the Far Eastern Policies of the United States, and the Significance to the World of the Conflict in the Far East. By WESTEL W. WILLOUGHBY, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, The Johns Hopkins University. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1940, pp. x, 237, $2.50.) In the author's words, this book has a dual purpose: "to present in a comprehensive, yet brief, manner the aims which Japan is pursuing in the Far East, as shown by her own official declarations, and to examine as to their validity the arguments she has advanced in pursuance of these aims". Within the limits of his dual purpose Professor Willoughby has covered the ground effectively. Japan's various pleas in justification of her actions are answered ably in the language of international law. Japan's aims, too, as officially avowed, such for example as her declaration of a "New Order" for east Asia, are accorded similar treatment. Professor Willoughby argues ably the lack of validity in Japan's appeal in substance to the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*. He served for some years as technical adviser of the Chinese government and was acting as adviser of the Chinese embassy at Washington when this book was written. It was therefore difficult for him, as he frankly admits, to maintain an impartial attitude. A careful reading of the text seems to justify his statement (p. 1): "It is not believed by him that he will be able to reveal facts or forces which have not previously been known and discussed". However, his accompanying belief that he has brought these facts and forces "into their proper relationships" and that he has attached to them "their due significance and importance" is less likely to go unchallenged. As a historical proposition the so-called case of a state is not to be found solely, as Professor Willoughby would appear to believe, in its aims officially avowed or in its own pleas in justification thereof. An argument or brief based on these considerations alone may be good international law, but it is not likely to be good history. PAUL H. CLYDE.

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PIERRE HUMBERTCLAUDE, S. M. Essai sur la vie et l'oeuvre de Ueda Akinari (1734-1809). *Ibid.*

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J. J. L. Duyvendak. Supplementary Documents on the Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court. *T'oung Pao,* 1940, no. 5.

R. H. van Gulik. *Kakkaron:* A Japanese Echo of the Opium War. *Monumenta Serica,* 1940, no. 2.

Chisaburo Yamada. Japanese Modern Art. *Monumenta Nipponica,* 1940, no. 2.

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H. Verhaeren. La bibliothèque chinoise du Pet'ang. *Monumenta Serica,* 1940, no. 2.

G. M. McCune. The Yi Dynasty Annals of Korea. *Trans. Korea Branch Royal Asiatic Soc.,* 1939.

Cyrus H. Peake. A Comparison of the Various Editions of the *Ch'ing Shih Kao. T'oung Pao,* 1940, no. 5.

UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

General

Three Americanists: Henry Harrisse, Bibliographer; George Brinley, Book Collector; Thomas Jefferson, Librarian. By Randolph G. Adams, Director of the William L. Clements Library, Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography. [Publications of the Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography.] (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939, pp. 101, $1.50.) As Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography for the year 1937-38, Randolph G. Adams chose to evaluate or, perhaps it should be said, to revaluate the figures of Henry Harrisse, bibliographer; George Brinley, book collector; and Thomas Jefferson, librarian. One is so accustomed to the versatility of Jefferson that only moderate surprise need be expressed at learning that he devised a system of book classification, laid out a shelving plan for his library, and constructed a folding library ladder. These are surface things, however, for the real importance of the story told by Dr. Adams is Jefferson's part in the formation of the Library of Congress. Dr. Adams's account of Henry Harrisse, the French scholar whose destiny it was to lay the solid groundwork of investigation in the discovery and exploration periods of American history, puts before the reader a clear-cut summary of that achievement, greatly, it seems to me, to the stabilization of Harrisse's reputation. His study of the Hartford book collector, George Brinley, makes clear not only that the Brinley library was, in many important features, the great achievement of its century in the collecting of Americana, but that Brinley's emphasis upon the book printed in the United States, upon the literature of the West, and upon other "homespun" aspects of the bibliography of America, influenced the collecting of his contemporaries and immediate successors and, through them, the study and writing of American history. Lawrence C. Wroth.

A Short History of America. By J. E. Tyler, Lecturer in Modern History, University of Sheffield. (London and Edinburgh, W. and R. Chambers, 1940, pp. 263, 6*s.*) An English historian's interpretation of the history of the United States at a time when the desire to put international relations on a sounder footing has aroused special interest in the federal principle.

America's Economic Growth. By Fred Albert Shannon, Associate Professor of History, University of Illinois. A revision of *Economic History of the People of the United States.* (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. viii, 867, $3.75.)

American History to 1865. By George M. Stephenson, Professor of History, University of Minnesota. [Harper's Historical Series, under the Editorship of Guy Stanton Ford.] (New York, Harper, 1940, pp. x, 698, $3.50.)

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Dictionary of the American Hierarchy. By the Reverend JOSEPH BERNARD CODE, of the Catholic University of America. With an Introduction by the Most Reverend Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Archbishop of Laodicea and Apostolic Delegate to the United States. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1940, pp. xxii, 425, $3.75.) "Not an interpretative study of the American episcopate, the biographies which go to make up this work contain only factual data, in many instances lacking in the works previously mentioned and in some cases making an appearance for the first time."

A Preliminary Bibliography on the American Fur Trade. Compiled by STUART CUTHBERTSON and JOHN C. EWERS. (St. Louis, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, 1939, pp. ii, 191, mimeographed, limited number of copies available for distribution.)

The Negro in the American Revolution. By HERBERT APTHEKER. (New York, International Publishers, 1940, pp. 47, 15 cents.)

They were Not Afraid to Die, 1775-1781. By A. C. M. AZOY. (Harrisburg, Military Service Publishing Company, 1939, pp. 303, $2.00.) "Informal accounts of some of the more important—and sometimes little-remembered—scenes in our Revolutionary pageant".

Revolutionary War Journals of Henry Dearborn, 1775-1783. Edited from the Original Manuscripts by LLOYD A. BROWN and HOWARD H. PECKHAM. With a Biographical Essay by HERMON DUNLAP SMITH. (Chicago, Caxton Club, 1939, pp. xvi, 264, $10.00.) This book was inspired by the reading at a meeting of the Caxton Club of the biographical essay that forms its first part. The club decided to sponsor the publication of both essay and journals in order to familiarize its fellow Chicagoans with the career of the man whose name is attached to the settlement from which the city sprang. For the editing of the journals the services of Lloyd A. Brown and Howard H. Peckham of the William L. Clements Library were secured. Although the foreword by the president of the Caxton Club expresses the belief that the book constitutes an important contribution to historical scholarship, one cannot feel that General Dearborn's journals tell us much that is new about the Revolutionary War. They are singularly laconic, with very little in the way of observation or appraisal that might shed new light on events. It would be difficult to find anything of importance in the history of the period about which our views will be perceptibly influenced by the reading of the journals. The possible exception to this is Dearborn's account of his own part in the Sullivan expedition against the Six Nations. Here he deals at some length with an event the details of which are less familiar than those of Washington's campaigns. The work of the editors has been well done except perhaps for the slip that assigns different dates on opposite pages for Arnold's treason. The notes identifying names, places, and events mentioned in the journals are distinctly valuable. TROYER S. ANDERSON.

The American Sketchbooks of Charles Alexandre Lesueur, 1816-1837. By R. W. G. VAIL. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1938.] (Worcester, the Society, 1938, pp. 109, $2.00.)

Maule's Curse: Seven Studies in the History of American Obscurantism: Hawthorne, Cooper, Melville, Poe, Emerson, Jones Very, Emily Dickinson, Henry James. By YVOR WINTERS. (Norfolk, New Directions, 1938, pp. xii, 240, $3.00.) Mr. Winters writes a provocative series of essays on six major American authors and a seventh whom he nominates for inclusion with the majors. The title is employed with the first and last essays, "Maule's Curse" and "Maule's Well", and the theme of the whole seems to be the confusion in the American char-

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acter. Hawthorne's dilemma, according to Mr. Winters, lay in the choice between inadequate or irrelevant abstractions and experience unilluminated by understanding; Cooper's in the conflict between traditional moral sense and a formulary romantic sentiment of his period; Melville's in the fact that he lived in a kind of "moral limbo"; Poe's in that his theory and practice did not hang together and that both were exceptionally bad. Jones Very, Mr. Winters's nominee for the Hall of Fame, is built up largely by the disparagement of Emerson, who, it appears, "at the core is a fraud and a sentimentalist". Henry James is paradoxically successful in fixing the finest quality of American life in spite of an imperfect understanding of it. Only Emily Dickinson is let off scot free. Mr. Winters is suggestive and challenging. The text implies, and a foreword definitely conveys, that he has the belligerency of one who is somewhat insecure in his own mind, with a universal contempt for reviewers, whether they agree with him and misunderstand him or oppose him with inaccuracy. This mood is inclined to qualify the value of the book, although it does not necessarily destroy it. It simply demands a more scrupulous reading in order that one may discriminate between an originality of interpretation and cultivation of dissent for its own sake. PERCY H. BOYNTON.

Simon Bolivar Buckner, Borderland Knight. By ARNDT M. STICKLES. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1940, pp. xi, 446, $3.50.) Of the lesser men in American history, few played a more colorful or significant part than Simon B. Buckner. Born in the border state of Kentucky, he attended West Point and finished his course there in time to fight in the Mexican War. Without losing his love for military life he later resigned from the army to enter business, like Grant, Sherman, and many others, but unlike Sherman and Grant he was soon on the road to wealth, in the management of Chicago real estate. Having the qualities and background which typified the Southern gentleman, he was inevitably propelled into the Confederacy when the Civil War broke out. Here his career was not particularly distinguished beyond the fact that he was left by Floyd and Pillow to surrender Fort Donelson to Grant, his old-time friend. The end of the war found him in Louisiana, where he surrendered troops again and where he was forced to remain for a time before being allowed to return to Kentucky. A short time before Grant's death, Buckner called on him at Mount McGregor. This friendly meeting of the two opposing Civil War generals touched the heart of the country and did much to heal war wounds. In 1887 he was elected governor of Kentucky, and in 1896 he entered the national political scene when he ran for vice-president on the gold platform of the Democratic wing headed by the former Federal general, John M. Palmer. Professor Stickles has written this book in a clear though undistinguished style. He searched for every scrap of evidence bearing on Buckner, and he found much, using various manuscripts and newspapers to good advantage. Though there is an oversupply of detail and a dearth of that interweaving of local into the national background, Professor Stickles has nevertheless produced a biography of sound scholarship. E. MERTON COULTER.

The Confessions of an Individualist. By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN. (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. x, 320, $3.00.)

Black Workers and the New Unions. By HORACE R. CAYTON and GEORGE S. MITCHELL. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1939, pp. xviii, 473, $4.00.) In 1931 the reviewer, together with Professor Abram L. Harris of Howard University, published a volume on the position of the Negro in the American labor movement called *The Black Worker*. Messrs. Cayton and Mitchell in their present volume take up the story where the earlier work left

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off. Since 1931 the American labor movement has suffered the depths of depression and unemployment. The New Deal administration, coming to office in 1933, set up the N.R.A., which injected new life and activity into a trade-union movement that had seemed on the point of disintegration from joblessness and despair. Then came the National Labor Relations Act guaranteeing the right to unionize, and the Wages and Hours Act setting up minimum standards, and, most important, the rise of the C.I.O. and the *de facto* acceptance of industrial unionism by the American Federation of Labor. Old-line craft unionism failed to organize the Negro partly because of a deliberate policy of Negro exclusion and partly because Negroes were chiefly found in mass production industries which the crafts were incapable of organizing. This book tells the story of the unionization of the Negro in three industries, steel, meat packing, and the railroad car shops. Going beyond the areas of the industries themselves, the authors attempt to show the way in which the black man's background and the social and racial philosophies of his leaders affect relations with employers and white fellow workers. The volume closes with a "Program for Negro Labor" to increase union sentiment, to overcome the racial prejudices of white workers, and to provide resources for struggling Negro union movements. The authors believe that a Negro Trades Federation organized along the lines of the old United Hebrew Trades would go far to accomplish these purposes.

STERLING D. SPERO.

Neutrality for the United States. By EDWIN BORCHARD and WILLIAM POTTER LAGE. Second edition with new material covering 1937-1940. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940, pp. xi, 461, $3.50.)

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Helen Nicolay. A Candidate in his Home Town. *Ibid.*

Charles O. Paullin. The Navy and the Booth Conspirators. *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Sept.

J. G. Randall. The Civil War Restudied. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Nov.

Mary Noble Welleck Garretson. Thomas S. Noble and his Paintings. *New-York Hist. Soc. Quar. Bull.*, Oct.

J. Fred Rippy. Antecedents of the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Sept.

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Leonard B. Beach. Peter Irving's Journals [I]. *Bull. New York Public Library*, Aug.

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New England and Middle Colonies and States

In Old Southampton. By Abigail Fithian Halsey. With a Foreword by Nicholas Murray Butler. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. ix, 143, $1.00.) Miss Halsey has contributed an enjoyable account of the oldest English town on Long Island from its founding by men from Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1640 through the Revolutionary War. After a brief period of independence Southampton passed under the jurisdiction of Connecticut in 1644 and became part of the province of the duke of York in 1664. Self-government was little hampered by Connecticut but was seriously curtailed by New York. To the usual activities of a self-sufficing community Southampton added whaling. During the Revolutionary War eastern Long Island suffered only less than the Mohawk Valley. Miss Halsey gives Abraham Pierson, first minister of the town, too much credit or blame (pp. 52, 79, 110) for the laws found in the early pages of the Southampton town records. A comparison of these laws with the code prepared for Massachusetts by John Cotton, which was under consideration at the time the Lynn men left Massachusetts for Long Island, shows that Southampton merely adopted verbatim sections of the Cotton code. Isabel M. Calder.

The Bloody Mohawk. By T. Wood Clarke. (New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. xviii, 372, $3.50.) This volume is less a history of the Mohawk Valley than a general survey, or a Who's Who, of New York in the colonial period. There was bloodshed in the valley, it is true, but there were also many years of peaceful evolution. While original sources have been used, the compilation in the main is based on secondary works, and in consequence some questionable traditions are perpetuated. The most valuable portions of the book are the sympathetic interpretations of the history of the Iroquois and of the Loyalists. The constructive contributions of Sir William Johnson to the growth of the valley are recounted, but more might have been said about Molly Brant, his Indian wife, and her brother, Joseph Brant. The development of schools, churches, and social and economic institutions is given scant attention. The style is exciting, the organization is rather illogical, the presentation is perhaps too forceful, little new material is

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introduced, and some of the conclusions are open to question. The numerous maps are a valuable contribution and help to clarify the text. A. C. FLICK.

Phases of the History of Cornwall. By SYDNEY K. MITCHELL. (New Haven, Yale University, privately printed, 1940, pp. 39.) An address delivered on the occasion of the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Cornwall, Connecticut.

The Rise of Railroads in the Connecticut River Valley. By THELMA M. KISTLER. [Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XXIII, nos. 1-4.] (Northampton, Department of History of Smith College, October, 1937-July, 1938, pp. 289, $2.00.) Students of the history of transportation in the United States will welcome this contribution to the relatively unexplored field of New England railroad development. The work deals intensively with the strategic area where the east-west routes from Boston intersect the great north-south artery of the Connecticut Valley, and in point of thoroughness and completeness of documentation it will meet any demand that scholarship can make. We can see in Miss Kistler's book the emergence in a limited area of precisely the same railroad problems that subsequently appeared in the national field. Local aspirations and rivalries started the railroads, frequently producing duplication and unsound locations. As local resources proved inadequate, a metropolitan money market became indispensable; in the case of these lines it was usually Boston, which meant control by Boston capitalists. Complex financial structures made an early appearance, and the problems of rate making in all their aspects—through and local rates, classifications, joint billing—were known to New England railroad men well before the Civil War. Personalities are also presented, some of them men whose interest in early New England railroading led them into Western railway development later on. There are some very interesting observations on the effect of the Connecticut Valley railroads on the economic life of the communities they served—an effect not always in accordance with the intentions of their original promoters. A more detailed map than the one included in the volume would be helpful. JOHN B. RAE.

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H. J. CONANT. The Admission of Vermont to the Union: A Bibliography. *Proc. Vermont Hist. Soc.*, June.

HELEN HARTNESS FLANDERS. Index of Ballads and Folk-Songs in the Archive of Vermont Folk-Songs at Smiley Manse, Springfield, Vermont. *Ibid.*

LOUIS HARTZ. Seth Luther: The Story of a Working-Class Rebel. *New Eng. Quar.*, Sept.

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Id. Joseph Galloway's Plan of Union for the British Empire, 1774-1788. *Ibid.*

BERTHA MONICA STEARNS. Early Philadelphia Magazines for Ladies. *Ibid.*

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Virginia: The New Dominion. By AGNES ROTHERY. Illustrated by E. H. Suydam. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1940, pp. xiii, 368, $5.00.) Few natives of the Old Dominion prefer to live elsewhere, but the Virginian of a critical frame of mind may be somewhat irritated by the overenthusiasm of the writer of these sketches, who finds that "the most attractive thing about Virginia . . . has always been the Virginians". Although the general reader will be rewarded with glimpses of economic and cultural institutions and some of the more elusive qualities of social life and customs, for the historian this volume is too superficial to be of much value except insofar as it contains occasional personal impressions of the contemporary scene. Recognizing that the "New Dominion" can be adequately appreciated only in the light of its past three centuries, the author devotes a large proportion of each chapter to historical background. Here, however, errors of both fact and interpretation indicate that she frequently treads on uncertain ground. In describing the settling of the Great Valley, which she identifies as the Shenandoah Valley (300 miles long!), the Scotch-Irish are barely mentioned. An iron works near Lexington is reported as having produced annually "700 tons of big [pig?] metal" during the early seventeenth century (p. 204). The explanation of rail transportation as a factor in Norfolk's tardy development (pp. 310-11) overlooks intersectional rivalry within Virginia. Many of the author's descriptive passages are entertaining, but it is apparent that she neglected to consult even the best secondary works in gathering much of her historical material. LESTER J. CAPPON.

Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Virginia. [American Guide Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. xxix, 699, $3.00.) Part I, on Virginia's background, includes an appreciation of the spirit of Virginia by Douglas Southall Freeman. Part II is on the cities, Part III on tours of Virginia, and Part IV contains a historical chronology and a classified bibliography.

Maryland: A Guide to the Old Line State. Compiled by Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Maryland. [American Guide Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1940, pp. xxviii, 561, $2.75.)

Tangier Island: A Study of an Isolated Group. By S. WARREN HALL, III. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939, pp. x, 122, $1.50.) This is a

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careful and tolerant report on a tiny Chesapeake island. It was written as a contribution to the literature represented by the Lynds' *Middletown*. Tangier, Virginia, is crowded with a population of 1,120 and is a far cry from Muncie, Indiana. There are no economic classes; there is one church, Methodist and fundamentalist; the "old men" of the church rule the community; there are almost no books or magazines; the island is an "amusement vacuum". Such restricted social life shows rewards: depression is hardly felt; wars cause little dislocation; the habit of everyone to pay the doctor monthly has created a kind of health insurance; morals are pure. The writer elaborates many statistics and facts. It is hard to believe with him that his details will correlate with other studies to produce "certain generalizations and conclusions", of a character unspecified. Yet the study reveals historical perspectives. From a period of "lonely" living, which lasted until about 1820, when Methodism brought social integration to Tangier, until recent times, when farming has declined and crab trade, motorboat, and movie have threatened the old isolation, there is historical interest in even so humble a backwater of American life. CHARLES A. BARKER.

West Virginia, the Mountain State. By CHARLES HENRY AMBLER, Professor of History, West Virginia University. [Prentice-Hall Books on History, edited by Carl Wittke.] (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1940, pp. xviii, 660, $5.35.) Professor Ambler's *A History of West Virginia,* published in 1933, received a brief but careful and rather favorable review by Professor Ella Lonn in the *American Historical Review* (XL, 140-41, October, 1934). In the new edition space was found for a few more illustrations, a map of the state, lists of congressmen, governors, and other officials, and data about the counties of the state. What is of more importance, the text has been corrected here and there and has been amplified at several places to include the findings of recent scholarship. Studies published within the last few years by Professors Thomas P. Abernethy, Kenneth P. Bailey, Festus P. Summers, Henry T. Shanks, and Professor Ambler himself were used in revising and extending the accounts of the Revolutionary and Civil War periods. This bringing of the book up to date in scholarship accounts for most of the expansion in the new edition; comparatively little space was used in narrating what has happened in West Virginia in the seven years since the first edition was published. In substance, and in appearance as well, the new edition is an improvement upon its predecessor.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

The Attitude of the Southern White Press toward Negro Suffrage, 1932-1940. Edited by RAYFORD W. LOGAN. With a Foreword by Charles H. Wesley. (Washington, Foundation Publishers, 1940, pp. xii, 115.) This study "is an effort to discover the present state of public opinion in the South on the subject as far as it is presented in selected Southern newspapers".

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Western Territories and States

Iowa through the Years. By Cyrenus Cole. [Iowa Centennial History.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1940, pp. 547, $3.00.) This final book of a veteran politician, journalist, and local historian, issued as a general preview to an "Iowa Centennial History", presents a panorama of Iowa scenes, in brief episodical divisions with headline titles, from the Ice Age to the New Deal. As the writer of the most informing one-volume history of the state and a lifelong observer of its men and measures, the author relied too often upon his memory and general impressions. A reference to his own books would have prevented such slips as the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia in 1850 (p. 230), the location of the Agricultural College adjoining a nonexistent village of Ames (p. 239), the election of the first post-Civil War Democratic speaker in 1891 (p. 399), and the presence of women members on the first state board of education (p. 441). While interjecting summary reports on life and letters, Mr. Cole's main interests are antiquarian and political. Well over a third of his narrative is given to the prestatehood period; and party leaders, with their schemes and ambitions, direct the course of the maturing Commonwealth. Agricultural, industrial, labor, and educational movements and leaders are left for the later volumes of the series. Mr. Cole died in the fullness of years before the final revision of his manuscript, and the writing of the introduction must have been one of the last services of the lamented superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa. Earle D. Ross.

Pope's Digest, 1815, Vol. II. Edited by Francis S. Philbrick, Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1940, pp. v, 507, $2.50.) This is the concluding volume of the reprint of Nathaniel Pope's *Digest* of the laws of Illinois Territory. The character of the work was briefly described in a previous issue of this *Review* (XLV, 728). The present volume embodies laws respecting the militia, the judiciary, roads, poor relief, revenue, slavery, the establishment of towns, and the like. As in its predecessor, Professor Philbrick has meticulously followed the original. A bibliography of the published laws of Illinois and an excellent index are appended. C. E. Carter.

A Scotch Paisano: Hugo Reid's Life in California, 1832-1852, derived from his Correspondence. By Susanna Bryant Dakin. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1939, pp. xvii, 312, $2.50.) This handsomely printed volume deals in an interesting and scholarly manner with the life and times of Hugo Reid from the days of his first visit to Southern California in 1832 to his death in 1852. It was in 1834 that Reid, an educated Scotchman, finally settled in the Los Angeles area and became a *paisano*, or civil inhabitant, with his home at San Gabriel. During the succeeding years he was engaged in mercantile enterprises with his close friend Abel Stearns and others, operated ships engaged at times

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in contraband trade, owned and operated ranches, and participated not very successfully in the gold rush. His marriage to an Indian wife in no way indicated or caused a slackening in his activities. He became a public official, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1849, took an active interest in Indian history, languages, and welfare, and retained his intellectual curiosity. He was one of the leading figures of his day in Southern California. The first two hundred pages of the book are devoted to the author's account of Reid's career, compiled largely from Reid's witty and informative letters to Abel Stearns, supplemented by extensive research. In appendixes are found a register of British and American residents in California prior to 1840 and Hugo Reid's "Letters on the Los Angeles County Indians". Notes and references are placed at the back of the volume, and there is a brief bibliography. The book is an important contribution to early California history. DAN E. CLARK.

Border Captives: The Traffic in Prisoners by Southern Plains Indians, 1835-1875. By CARL COKE RISTER. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1940, pp. xi, 220, $2.00.) The frontier history of the plains country south of the Platte River is replete with tragedy. The region was the home of several Indian tribes especially fierce and nomadic: Cheyenne and Arapaho, Comanche and Kiowa, Ute and Apache. At first the northern Mexican settlements bore the brunt of raids by these Indians, but by the time of the Texas Republic the Anglo-Americans in Texas had learned to fear and hate them. Well-mounted, the Indians struck and retreated as swiftly as sparrow hawks and often took back and adopted into their tribe women and children from Mexican and Anglo-American communities. Dr. Rister has emphasized this captive phase of their operations. The Indians learned that ransoms would be paid for captives, and they made a racket of the grim business. *Border Captives* is more than a series of cruel episodes. Dr. Rister has rewritten the history of the Southern Plains frontier in terms of the experience of the ordinary white pioneer and his Indian adversary. Of political and military history he gives the essential facts as background, but his emphasis is on the way of life of the Indians and the frontiersmen and the experiences of the captives. He has taken full advantage of the dramatic elements in his subject matter and has written a genuinely interesting book. In doing this he has not forgotten the high standards of the historian, with the result that his study is quite authoritative. RUPERT N. RICHARDSON.

The University of Missouri: A Centennial History. By JONAS VILES, with the collaboration of several of his colleagues. (Columbia, University of Missouri, 1939, pp. 508, $2.00.)

A Centennial History of the University of Louisville. Written by Kentucky Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration. [American Guide Series.] (Louisville, University of Louisville, 1939, pp. xiv, 301, $1.50.) These two volumes represent significant additions to the growing literature relative to the history of higher education in this country. Both are centennial histories, and both are histories of public institutions—one a state university, the other a municipal university. The first volume presents the early history of the University of Missouri in considerable detail and with ample reference to various aspects of the social and political history of Missouri. Later developments in the various schools and colleges of the university are reviewed in separate chapters by Professor Viles's colleagues. The volume as a whole is a substantial contribution. The centennial history of the University of Louisville marks a departure in historical literature on American universities. It was written by the members of the Kentucky Writers' Project of the W. P. A. and issued as one of the well-known American Guide Series. Strangely enough, it does not give adequate attention to the social, economic, or political factors which influenced the de-

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velopment of the institution. The university authorities co-operated in gathering the material for this brief and readable account of one of our earliest municipal universities and sponsored its publication. The volume includes an excellent index and bibliography. DONALD G. TEWKSBURY.

The Anti-Chinese Movement in California. By ELMER CLARENCE SANDMEYER. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1939, pp. 127, $2.00.) This slender but heavily documented doctoral dissertation carries the complicated story of anti-Chinese agitation from 1848 to 1904 in ninety-seven pages. It is based solely on printed materials, principally government documents and newspapers, and consequently adds disappointingly little to Mary Roberts Coolidge's earlier and much more detailed work, or for that matter to Oberholtzer, who covered the heart of the problem with greater fullness but who is not mentioned. The approach is more objective than Mrs. Coolidge's, and the statistical and bibliographical data are useful. There are also helpful analyses of local restrictive legislation and the resultant conflicts with Federal jurisdiction. The influence of labor and politics is emphasized, though at times *post hoc ergo propter hoc* reasoning takes the place of proof. There is evidence of immaturity in style, organization, and bibliography. The Beards will doubtless be surprised to find their *Rise of American Civilization* cited as an authority on Chinese-American relations. The diplomatic repercussions of the agitation are practically ignored. This is regrettable, for if the author had consulted the records of the Department of State he could have presented a genuinely important contribution in place of this rethreshing of old straw. THOMAS A. BAILEY.

Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875. Edited by ISIDOR LOEB and FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER. Volume VI. (Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1940, pp. 520, $1.45.)

Thomas Riley Marshall, Hoosier Statesman. By CHARLES M. THOMAS, Ohio State University. [Men of America Series, Volume II.] (Oxford, Mississippi Valley Press, 1939, pp. 296, $3.00.) Thomas R. Marshall was a respectable but relatively unimportant character in recent American history, and this biography suffers from his limitations. The author has industriously pieced together Marshall's activities, but the results are not impressive. Marshall was a good governor, a conscientious vice-president, a man of common sense and good judgment, and a bit of a wag. One likes him. But it was not his lot to do great deeds. Had he become President, as at one time seemed likely to happen, he might have shown capabilities that the relatively unimportant duties he discharged did not call forth. The author has neglected the opportunity Marshall's career afforded him to write beyond his subject. He might have given us a picture of the Taggert machine in operation that would have been full of significance. He might also have taken us behind the scenes in the Senate to find out the how and why of things we still know only superficially. But he has chosen instead to see no more than Marshall himself was able to see. That, unfortunately, was not very much. For an understanding of Marshall's own character this book is by no means as revealing as Marshall's *Recollections*. It is virtually undocumented, although obviously intended as a scholarly study. The list of printed sources quoted or mentioned is unimpressive, both quantitatively and qualitatively. It contains about seventy-five titles, including numerous entries such as "New York Herald. Various dates". In format the book is far from satisfactory. The binding is passable, and the title page is definitely good, but the paper used is so thick as to make the volume twice as bulky as its length warrants. Furthermore, it is printed and folded against the grain, an inexcusable blunder which accounts for the fact that the pages refuse to lie down when the book is opened.

JOHN D. HICKS.

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A History of the Chicago Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. By WILFRED CARSEL. With an Introduction by Paul H. Douglas, University of Chicago. (Chicago, Normandie House, 1940, pp. xxiv, 323, $2.50.) This is a study of the labor movement which deals with a single union in a specific area—the Chicago section of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. It is this union to which some have pointed as an effective organism established on democratic principles. A definite chronology establishes the time element for the reader. The period of seasonal unionism, 1886-1914, touches early beginnings, employer resistance, the Palmer strike of 1909-11, and the struggle of the union for survival from 1911 to 1914. The second chronological division sketches various events which served to consolidate the position of the union as a factor in the affairs of the city of Chicago. Part III deals with the general theme "On the Defensive" and portrays a twofold battle waged by the union, one against renewed employer antipathy and one against an apathetic attitude of workers due to "the golden twenties" and the trials of the early years of the recent depression. The fourth and last division of the book, "The New Advance", carries the reader up to 1939 in a discussion describing an impetus toward unionization and an increasing democracy and expanding privileges of membership within the organization itself. Dr. Carsel narrates clearly and directly the historical development of the various aspects of union activity. The story is at times sad, a story of almost constantly militant endeavor. The author's sympathy with the events with which he deals is apparent. He has made good use of a wide range of sources including letters, journals, official documents, newspapers, and periodicals. The usefulness of the book would be enhanced, however, if he had at times correlated union activities more closely with the general conditions of the city with which the union was primarily concerned. There are voluminous footnotes, a glossary of union terms, a bibliography, index, and appendixes. BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

J. W. Caughey

Ensayos históricos hispanoamericanos, 1a. serie. By Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., The Catholic University of America. With an Introduction by Alberto Maria Carreño. (Mexico, "Ábside", 1940, pp. 74, 50 cents.) In the first essay Father Steck supports the contention that Juan Pablos, who operated Mexico's first public printery, 1539-60, deserves to be called "the American Gutenberg". The second essay, "Los cincuenta primeros años de dominación española en México (1522-1572)", is a translation of a paper read before the Catholic Historical Association at Washington in December, 1934. It is a brilliant analysis of a half century of marvelous achievement. The final paper, "Los colegios misioneros franciscanos en la América española", surveys the work of this order in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Cabon's History of Haiti Journalism. With an Introduction and Notes by Clarence S. Brigham. [Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1939.] (Worcester, the Society, 1940, pp. 87, $1.50.)

Francisco de Paula Santander. By Dr. José Manuel Pérez Cabrera. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", A. Muñiz y Hno., 1940, pp. 44.) A *discurso* commemorating the centennial of the death of a famous Colombian liberator and statesman.

La paz del Manganeso. By Manuel J. de Granda. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", A. Muñiz y Hno., 1939, pp. xi, 132.) The exploits of Major General Antonio Maceo Grajales in Cuba, from February 5 to August 30, 1890.

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Memoria que al honorable presidente de la republica, Dr. Jacinto B. Peynado, presenta el mayor general José García, M. M., secretario de estado de lo interior y policia, relativa a las labores realizadas en el departamento a su cargo durante el año de 1938. [Republica Dominicana.] (Trujillo, Editorial "La Nacion", 1939, pp. 536.)

Handbook of Latin American Studies, 1938: A Selective Guide to the Material published in 1938 on Anthropology, Archives, Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geography, Government, History, International Relations, Law, Language and Literature, and Libraries. Edited for the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies by LEWIS HANKE, Library of Congress, and RAUL D'EÇA, Associate Editor, Pan American Union. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939, pp. xvi, 468, $4.00.)

The True Facts about the Expropriation of the Oil Companies' Properties in Mexico. (Mexico City, Government of Mexico, 1940, pp. 271.)

Los modos de iniciación del contralor judicial de la constitucionalidad de las leyes en los Estados Unidos. By GEORGE H. JAFFIN. *Los modos de iniciación del contralor judicial de la constitucionalidad de las leyes en la República Argentina.* By Dr. ROBERTO PECACH. [Publicados en "Jurídicas y Sociales", julio-octubre de 1939, tomo V, núms. 4 y 5.] (Buenos Aires, Ediciones de la Revista Universitaria "Jurídicas y Sociales", 1939, pp. 45.) These companion essays, the first translated into Spanish by Dr. Pecach, describe the functioning of judicial review in the United States and Argentina. Dr. Pecach concludes that his country would do well to appropriate two United States devices: the injunction and the declaratory sentence.

ARTICLES

CARLOS ALBERTO MARTÍNEZ-FORTÚN Y FOYO. ¿Donde estuvo situado "Caraháte"? *An. Acad. Hist. Cuba,* Vol. XX.

SAMUEL LEWIS. El primer panameño célebre [Diego de Almagro, "El Mozo"]. *An. Soc. Geog. Hist.,* June.

ADÁN SABORÍO. Descubrimiento del Desaguadero, hoy Río San Juan. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), July.

ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN. The Lineage of the Adelantado Francisco de Montejo and his Will and Testament. *Rev. Hist. Am.,* Apr.

JORGE VOLIO. Breve noticia sobre Fray Toribio de Motolinía. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), July.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN. Pedro Sánchez, Founder of the Jesuits in New Spain. *Mid-America,* July.

J. ANTONIO VILLACORTA. Indice analítico de la "Historia de la Capitanía General de Guatemala", 1542-1821. *An. Soc. Geog. Hist.,* Sept.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO. The Collection of the Fifth in Brazil, 1695-1709. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.,* Aug.

SILVESTRE TERRAZAS. El gran sabio y santo padre Glandorf en Chihuahua. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Est. Hist.,* July.

GREGORIO DELGADO FERNÁNDEZ. Un capítulo de la historia de Melena del Sur y su jurisdicción. *An. Acad. Hist. Cuba,* Vol. XX.

LORENZO ARELLANO SCHETELIG. Las elecciones de alcaldes en 1740. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Est. Hist.,* May.

RICARDO DONOSO. Don Vicente Carvallo y Goyeneche, historiador de Chile. *Rev. Hist. Am.,* Apr.

LORENZO ARELLANO SCHETELIG. La catedral de Chihuahua: Altar mayor y colaterales. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Est. Hist.,* Dec., 1939.

FRANCISCO R. ALMADA. Archivos perdidos [of the commandancy general of the frontier provinces]. *Ibid.*

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R. Fernández Guardia. La independencia [cont.]. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), Mar.

Homenaje académico a la memoria del General Santander en el primer centenario de su muerte. *Bol. Hist. Antig.*, May.

Ralph T. Esterquest. L'imprimerie royale d'Hayti, 1817-1819: A Little Known Royal Press of the Western Hemisphere. *Papers Bibliograph. Soc. Am.*, 1940, no. 2.

Manuel Montúfar. Hombres prominentes de la época federal. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), Jan., 1940.

Arthur P. Whitaker. José Silvestre Rebello: The First Diplomatic Representative of Brazil in the United States. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Aug.

R. Fernández Guardia. Morazán y el pueblo josefino. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), Jan., 1940.

Francisco R. Almada. Los Melgares. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Est. Hist.*, May.

F. Romero. Antonio Valle Riestra y Albarracin, un héroe costarricense nacido en el Perú. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), Mar.

R. Fernández Guardia. Don Antonio Valle Riestra. *Ibid.*

Id. Don Juan Rafael Mora y don Luis Molina. *Ibid.*

Cleto González Víquez. El empréstito peruano a Costa Rica. *Ibid.*

Pelayo Villanueva. La vida útil y fecunda de don Fernando Diago y Tato del Castillo. *An. Acad. Hist. Cuba*, Vol. XX.

Ramón Rosa. La organización y reglamentación de la enseñanza, según el código fundamental de instrucción pública de 1880 [Honduras]. *Bol. Bib. y Arch. Nac.*, Sept., 1939.

Francisco R. Almada. La fiesta del trabajo. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Est. Hist.*, May.

Juan B. Iquíniz. La Biblioteca Nacional de México. *Rev. Hist. Am.*, Apr.

A. X. Don Alejandro Cardona y Llorens. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), Jan., 1940.

Walter Schmiedehaus. Los Ruso-Germanos en México. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Est. Hist.*, Dec., 1939.

Rogelio Sotela. Panorama de la literatura costarricense. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), July.

Edwin Ryan. The Contribution of the Church to Chilean Culture. *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct.

Albert B. Franklin. Ecuador's Novelists at Work. *Inter-Am. Quar.*, Oct.

E. W. H. Lumsden. Immigration and Politics in Latin America. *Ibid.*

Bailey W. Diffie. Some Foreign Influences in Contemporary Brazilian Politics. *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, Aug.

Fritz Morstein Marx and Bryce Wood. The Brazilian Civil Service. *Inter-Am. Quar.*, Oct.

Walter R. Sharp. Brazil 1940—Whither the "New State"? *Ibid.*

H. W. D. Mayers. Some Facts about Cotton in Brazil. *Ibid.*

J. B. Monteiro Lobato. What Brazil Reads. *Ibid.*

Cyrus Townsend Brady, jr. The Arts and Sciences in Argentine Universities. *Ibid.*

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Carta de don Juan López de la Flor . . . sobre la invasión de la Provincia de Costa Rica por los piratas Mansfelt y Henry Morgan, año de 1666. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1940.

Relación verdadera de la reducción de los indios infieles de la Provincia de Tegucigalpa, llamados xicaques [1674]. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Gob.*, July.

Razón del estado en que se hallan las reducciones de indios fieles, a cargo de los religiosos de San Francisco [1676]. *Ibid.*

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Don Manuel López de Llano informa al Capitán General Juan Antonio Velarde y Cienfuegos, que moscos y sambos habian invadido el Valle de Matina [1760]. *Bol. Arch. Gen. Gob.*, July.

Acerca del pago de la doctrina asignada a los misioneros en radicar en la reducción de San Buena Ventura, poblada de indios batucos [1768]. *Ibid.*

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Autos de la consulta que elevó el Capitán Gobernador de la Provincia de Costa Rica, acerca de que varios indios Moscos al mando de Yasparal, Yani y Versa, intentan su reducción [1769]. *Ibid.*

Informes de los Gobernadores de Comayagua, Nicaragua y Costarrica sobre el proyecto de develar a los Mosquitos [1769]. *Bol. Bib. y Arch. Gen.*, Sept., 1939.

El Cabildo de Cartago resuelve sacar de la ciudad a todos los leperosos y poblarlos en el paraje de Cusó [1774]. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), Jan., 1940.

Memoriales del Gobernador don Tomás de Acosta, certificaciones e informes relativos a los mismos, 1777-1802. *Ibid.*

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Noticias relativas a la provincia y ciudad de Panamá [1790]. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), Jan., 1940.

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En vísperas de la Independencia: Oficios de los Ayuntamientos constitucionales de Ciudad Real, Tuxla y Comitán, en que comunican haber proclamado y jurado la Independencia. *An. Soc. Geog. Hist.*, Sept.

Testamento de don Gregorio José Ramírez [1823]. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), Mar.

El santuario de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles en Cartago en 1833. *Ibid.*

Comunicaciones seleccionadas en el libro copiador de correspondencia del Ministro General Saravia, Despacho de Gobernación, 1842. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1940.

Comunicaciones de los Comandantes del Guanacaste sobre un brote de separatismo en el departamento, 1842. *Ibid.*

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Gabino de Cuilty. [Proclamation, September 2, 1846]. *Bol. Soc. Chihuahuense Est. Hist.*, May.

Dos cartas inéditas del Abate Brasseur de Bourbourg, dirigidas al Doctor José Mariano Padilla, fechadas en Rabinal el 23 de mayo y 3 de junio de 1855. *An. Soc. Geog. Hist.*, June.

Informe del Teniente Coronel don Pedro Barillier sobre la batalla de Rivas del 11 de abril de 1856. *Rev. Arch. Nac.* (Costa Rica), Mar.

Apuntamientos históricos de don Alejandro Cardona y Llorens. *Ibid.*, Jan., 1940.

Notas de don Luis Molina relativas a don Juan Rafael Mora. *Ibid.*, Mar.

José Carlos Manó. Primer informe presentado a la Secretaría de Fomento: Cuenca geológica y mineralógica del departamento de Huehuetenango. *An. Soc. Geog. Hist.*, June.

Id. Segundo informe presentado a la Secretaría de Fomento por J. Carlos Manó, comisionado por el Supremo Gobierno, para estudiar la República de Guatemala, desde el punto de vista mineralógico. *Ibid.*, Sept.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

Eleanor D. Smith resigned as Assistant Editor of this journal on September 30, having served it with exceptional ability and devotion for seven and a half years. She was married last June to Dr. Thomas Walker Moore, a member of the department of mathematics of the United States Naval Academy, and is now living in Annapolis. Her work is being carried on by Florence Miller, who has been connected with the *Review* for more than three years. Miss Miller is a graduate of Brooklyn College and a master of arts of Columbia University.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Following the precedent established last year, the *American Historical Review* will publish as a supplement to its next issue a *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Universities in the United States and the Dominion of Canada, with an Appendix of Other Research Projects in History Now in Progress in the United States and in Canada.* Blank forms for the necessary data to compile these lists are being mailed as heretofore to the heads of history departments of all universities and colleges in the United States and Canada who contributed to the compilation of last year's list. But it is to be feared that those research workers in history who have no present academic connections will be missed. The Executive Secretary of the Association, who is in charge of the compilation of these lists, requests that all research students pursuing definite projects of research in history transmit a report of their projects to him at the Philadelphia office of the Association, 226 South 16th Street. The report should contain (1) a brief title of the project (not more than eight words); (2) a statement of how long ago the project was started; (3) approximately how soon it will be completed; and (4) how long it is likely to be in terms of octavo pages. It is understood, of course, that all figures are approximate. Contributors will please print out carefully the titles of their projects. A great deal of time was wasted last year in deciphering illegible returns. Contributors are also requested to indicate precisely where in time and where in place their project belongs and to indicate their institutional connections if they care to have them recorded. Since the time for editing and printing is necessarily short, no returns can be included in the lists for 1940 which are not in the hands of the Executive Secretary by January 15, 1941.

An unexpected use seems to have been found for the *List of Members of the American Historical Association,* published as a supplement to our

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last January issue. We are credibly informed that a prominent German-American of New York City, who has been named in the New York press as under investigation by the F. B. I. for fifth column activities, has recently acquired four copies of that issue *with the supplement*. It would be flattering to us to believe that this gentleman was moved solely by a scholarly interest in the contents of the *Review*, but under the circumstances it would be safer to assume that he intended to use the supplement as a mailing list for the distribution of Nazi propaganda to the membership of the Association.

A collection of papers read at the annual meeting of the Association in December, 1939, has just been published by the Columbia University Press in a volume entitled *The Cultural Approach to History*, edited by Professor Caroline F. Ware. "In this book", the publishers state, "historians take a new view of historical methods and anthropologists describe their conception of culture, on which the new historical approach has been predicated."

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: 179 photographic prints, additional to the John B. Stetson, jr., Florida Collection; 2,690 pages of reproductions from Spanish and Mexican archives relating to Mexico, Guatemala, and Yucatan; sixty-nine papers of the Samuel Holden Parsons family, 1769 to 1871; sixty papers relating to John McNeil, Franklin Pierce, W. T. Sherman, and others, 1772 to 1905; photostats of five letters from Nathanael Greene to Colonel James Abeel, 1779 to 1780; photostats of seven letters of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Rush, 1779 to 1825; three volumes of records of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations, March 5, 1784, to August 23, 1786; two volumes of copyright entries of Rhode Island, 1790 to 1820; additional photostats of letters of George Washington; reproductions of 308 additional papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss, 1810 to 1886; about 150 papers of Oliver Wolcott and the Gibbs family, 1812 to 1822; film negatives of twenty-two items of Captain Reuben S. Rice material, 1816 to 1861; photostats of the Act of Capitulation, Ayacucho, Peru, December 9, 1824, and of a letter from José de Canterac to Simon Bolívar, December 12, 1824; 705 papers of Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, 1824 to 1939; seven letter books (letters received) of John Wilkes, son of Charles Wilkes, including many letters from the latter, 1845 to 1861; letter book of John S. Meehan, Librarian of Congress, dated July, 1849, to November, 1854; three box-portfolios of papers of S. A. Thompson, secretary of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, 1857 to 1932; seventeen items relating to Henri von Daur, painter, 1873 to 1899; scrapbook and forty-five loose papers of John Herbert Corning, including many items relating to the theater, dated mainly 1880 to 1933; three letters to General Charles E. Fur-

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long from Mrs. Julia Dent Grant and Frederick Dent Grant, 1893 to 1903; seven additional papers relating to Woodrow Wilson, from the files of Andrew C. Imbrie, 1893 to 1940; also photographic prints of ninety-two items, chiefly letters from Woodrow Wilson to Edwin Anderson Alderman and Richard Heath Dabney, 1897 to 1922; fourteen box-portfolios of additional papers of Richmond Pearson Hobson, 1895 to 1937; 163 papers of Finley Peter Dunne, 1899 to 1936; typewritten copy of diary of Mary Lord Harrison (Mrs. Benjamin Harrison), compiled from letters to her sister, Mrs. John F. Parker, while Benjamin Harrison and Mrs. Harrison were in Europe, 1899; thirty-two box-portfolios of papers of Thomas Watt Gregory, Attorney General of the United States, 1902 to 1933; eight papers of Anna L. Dawes, 1904 to 1915; typewritten copy of "The Changing World: A Study in Comparative Economics", by John F. Normano, with bibliography, 1930 to 1940; six typewritten manuscripts (including novel, essay, and poem) by, and relating to, Dr. Nicholas Michelson, in German, 1930 to 1940; twelve scrapbooks of clippings concerning opium monopolies in various countries, 1931 to 1940; additional papers of Thomas James Walsh; additions to the papers of William Edgar Borah, including eleven rolls of film negatives of scrapbooks; clippings from the Nashville *Banner,* July 8 to 12, 1940, containing articles by William E. Beard relating to Cordell Hull, with annotations by the author.

The National Archives is co-operating with the American University in inaugurating a program for the training of archivists, which includes courses on the history and administration of archives, American and European administrative history, and the administration of current records and record systems. In addition, the National Archives has again made available several in-service training courses, which include seminars on the arrangement and description of archival material, directed by Solon J. Buck, and on research materials in the National Archives, directed by Philip M. Hamer. Research materials relating to Latin America are to be found in several recent accessions of the National Archives. Included, for example, are the records of the first and second occupations of Cuba, in 1898-1902 and 1906-1909, pertaining to censuses, public works, customs and postal services, and other functions of central and local government in that country; correspondence of the Dominican Customs Receivership, 1905-1907; records of the President's Commission for Study and Review of Conditions in Haiti, 1930-31; and numerous maps of the Bureau of Insular Affairs relating to Puerto Rico, 1901-30. Other records received relate to the Conference on Central American Affairs, 1922-23, the electoral missions to Nicaragua in 1928 and 1932, the occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914, the American-Mexican Joint Commission of 1916, the exportation of arms to Mexico, 1919-29, and the commissions concerned with the Tacna-Arica arbitration, 1925-26, and with the Bolivia-Paraguay boundary dispute, 1929-30. The main body of Federal pension records in the

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National Archives has been made practically complete for the period prior to the World War by a recent accession of the individual files on pension and bounty-land claims based on service during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 and the related exhibits submitted in support of those claims, such as family Bibles, marriage certificates, commissions and discharges, and diaries. Records concerning the World War recently received include a collection of about one thousand posters pertaining to Liberty Loan bonds, food conservation, recruiting, labor, and other subjects and records of units of the former Fleet Corporation dealing with the procurement of materials, maritime labor problems, and the housing of shipyard workers. Another recent accession consists of records of the Department of Justice, 1924-39, of the Special Assistants to the Attorney General, 1927-35, and of the Special Co-Counsels for the United States, 1924-30, all relating to investigations and litigation growing out of leases of naval petroleum reserves in the Teapot Dome, Elk Hills, and Buena Vista areas. A 303-page *Guide to the Material in the National Archives,* describing records received to December 31, 1939, has been published by the Government Printing Office. Paper-bound copies may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents at forty cents and cloth-bound copies at seventy cents. A translation of a manual on Polish archival practices entitled "Schedule of Internal Work in Modern Archives", by Ryszard Przelaskowski, has been reproduced as No. 10 of the *Staff Information Circulars* of the National Archives (pp. 39).

Among the recent accessions of the Naval Historical Foundation are the following: Midshipman Greenleaf Cilley, journal and notebook of U.S.S. *Ohio* and *Plymouth,* 1847; Commander C. S. Sperry, "Narrative of Voyage from San Francisco to Manila, U.S.S. *Yorktown",* 1899; thirty-eight letters and documents belonging to Commodore John Rodgers, 1807-28; original notes of "Narrative of Facts relative to My Imprisonment in Cape François", by Commodore John Rodgers, 1802.

In recognition of the bicentennial of the University of Pennsylvania, which was celebrated last September, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach has presented to the university a bound collection of eulogies on Franklin's death and other papers relating to Franklin, most of them printed in French and published in Paris in 1790 and 1791. He has also presented to the university an autograph letter written by Thomas Jefferson, when he was Secretary of State, to the National Assembly of France. This letter, dated at Philadelphia, March 8, 1791, conveys the appreciation of President Washington and of Congress for the three months' period of mourning decreed in France upon the death of Benjamin Franklin, who had been the first minister of the United States to France.

The first volume of the Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies was published last summer. It is a reprint of *The Present State of Virginia and*

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the College, written by Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton and first published in London in 1727, edited with a critical introduction by Hunter Dickinson Farish, who is Director of the Department of Research and Record of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, and general editor of this new series.

The first two volumes of the Christendom Series were published in September. The project is under the direction of an editorial committee consisting of Ross Hoffman (Fordham), chairman, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Herbert C. F. Bell, Marshall Baldwin, Eugene Byrne, William M. Agar, and T. Lawrason Riggs, Catholic chaplain at Yale. The central purpose of the committee is to publish an extensive series of small-sized studies, each running to about thirty thousand words and each centered upon a subject of decisive importance in the political, social, cultural, and ecclesiastical history of the Christian world. The scope of the series will reach from historical beginnings to modern and contemporary times, and selective emphasis will be laid on subjects which most often lend themselves, in general textbooks, to a misunderstanding of the Catholic Church and its historical life. The volumes already published are: *The Medieval Papacy in Action,* by Marshall Baldwin, and *Catholicism and the Progress of Science,* by William Agar. Editorial and publishing plans envisage the publication of about four additions to the series each year. They are issued by Macmillan and bear not only the imprimatur of the New York diocesan authorities but also the insignia of the National Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, which is adopting them for use in its educational program.

There has recently come to our desk the second number of Volume II of *Microfilm Abstracts: A Collection of Abstracts of Doctoral Dissertations which are Available in Complete Form on Microfilm.* This publication, which was begun in 1938, is issued by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor. Its purpose is "to provide as accurate a description as possible, of certain doctoral dissertations, so that scholars may determine whether the dissertation is of interest. Each of the manuscripts abstracted here has been photographed completely, page by page and the negative retained here. Positive microfilm prints, or paper enlargements from that negative, can be made upon request, at rates given at the end of each abstract."

A limited number of reprints of a List of the Photographs of Manuscripts in the Modern Language Association, Additional Series, Library of Congress, published in Bulletin No. 31, American Council of Learned Societies, June, 1940, are available upon application to the Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association. For the most part, the manuscripts are in Greek and Latin. Those of especial interest to historians are likely to be *Historia regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth (11 vols.,

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covering eleven different manuscripts) and the Commentaries of Pius II from the Vatican Library.

The first issue of a new Russian-Ukrainian historical review has recently appeared, with the Russian and French titles of *Kievski gos. universitet imeni T. G. Shevchenko, Trudy istoricheskovo fakulteta* and *Université d'État Chevtchenko de Kiev, Travaux de la faculté historique.* The editorial board consists of L. N. Berkut, A. Y. Kiktev, Y. I. Korchmar, P. A. Lavrov, and I. D. Melnikov. The first issue appears as Volume I, and the journal will appear, presumably, at irregular intervals.

The first issue of a new magazine, *Mexicana Review,* appeared in June. This journal is to be published semiannually by the New York Archives of Mexico and is distributed to college and university libraries and reference rooms, public libraries, museums, Mexican, Pan-American, and other learned societies. To quote from the announcement that appears in the first issue: "One of the primary purposes of this publication is to emphasize through bibliographical studies the wealth of material that is available in English on all aspects of Mexicana, and perhaps in some measure, thus promote and encourage the study and understanding of Mexico and its problems by undergraduate students and other interested individuals." All communications should be addressed to the editor, Jesse J. Dossick, in care of New York University, Washington Square, New York City. Subscription rates are sixty cents a year; the price of single copies is thirty-five cents.

West Virginia History: A Quarterly Magazine, which began publication in October, 1939, is under the sponsorship of the Department of Archives and History of West Virginia, with Mrs. Innis C. Davis, State Historian and Archivist, as editor. The issues of this new journal which we have received contain valuable articles. Two special departments of the magazine deserve to be mentioned: "State History as featured by the Press" and "Recent Publications of Interest to West Virginians".

The inauguration of a new historical journal is not the only forward step taken by the historically minded people of West Virginia. On October 5 the West Virginia Historical Society was organized at Charleston, with an executive committee of ten persons. Charles McCamic is president of the society, and Mrs. Innis C. Davis is executive secretary. *West Virginia History* becomes the principal organ of the society and is sent free to all members.

Plans for the foundation of a new society, the Index Society, are well under way. An editorial committee, with Benjamin Nangle of Yale University as general editor, Harold Bentley (Columbia) as secretary and treasurer, and Wallace Notestein (Yale), James M. Osborn (Yale), George Sherburn (Harvard), and Lawrence C. Wroth (John Carter Brown Library) as members, has been set up, and an appeal for membership is about to be

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made. The purpose of the society is "the publication of labor-saving books—indexes, concordances, chronologies, or bibliographies—in the fields of English and American history and literature". The editorial committee announces that the first book to be issued under the auspices of the society will be *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England and in English between 1641 and 1700,* compiled by Donald Wing of the Yale University Library. This will be a continuation of the famous *Short-Title Catalogue* covering publications from 1475 to 1640 which was published in 1926. It is expected that the new book will contain about nine thousand entries and will run to three volumes. The manuscript is ready to be set up in galleys.

The Historical Records Survey is expanding the American Portrait Inventory to include those states which contain important collections of portraits painted before 1860. Dr. George C. Groce, jr. (of the department of education of the City College, New York) has been appointed National Consultant for the technical side of the work. The American Portrait Inventory is already operating in ten states.

Under the terms of the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations the United States has now arranged exchanges of students and professors with nine of the American republics. Ten graduate students from the other American republics have been selected for study in the United States, and four additional students will soon be chosen. Eight graduate students and three professors from the United States have been invited to study and teach in other American countries. These arrangements have been made between the United States and the governments of Chile, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, and Venezuela. The United States has been informed that the governments of Brazil and Peru will undertake similar arrangements in the near future. Plans for these exchanges have been worked out jointly by the Department of State and the Office of Education of the Federal Security Agency. The three American professors selected to study and teach in Latin-American countries are Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College, John Ashton of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, and Carroll William Dodge of Washington University, St. Louis.

The appointment last summer of five fellows of the Library of Congress initiated a project which may have important consequences not only to the Library of Congress but to universities and colleges throughout the country. The project, one of several which have been made possible by a general development grant from the Carnegie Corporation, calls for the establishment of annual fellowships to be filled by young scholars from the faculties of universities and colleges who will spend a year in the Library of Congress on leave from their institutions. While there they will study the collections of the library in their particular fields and will aid in the handling of difficult

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reference problems involving their special training and experience. The expectation is that the library will profit by the study of its holdings and by the aid given in its reference work, while the fellows will profit by firsthand experience of the holdings and operations of the national library. The consequence may well be a closer connection between the library and the universities which will be of mutual advantage to both. Dr. Frederick P. Keppel, president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and his colleagues have long been concerned with the important contributions which American libraries can make to the interpretation and preservation of the American way of living. The new fellowships of the Library of Congress reflect their conviction that American cultural institutions can be greatly strengthened if scholars will accept a responsibility for the holdings of the national library and if the latter will accept a responsibility for the instruction of scholars in the services it is prepared to render. The fellowships awarded for the year beginning September, 1940, include one in the humanities, one in history, one in social science, one in natural science, and one in library science. The young men chosen are Richard H. Heindel of the University of Pennsylvania, Edward P. Hutchinson of Harvard University, Jerrold Orne of the University of Chicago, William E. Powers of Northwestern University, and Francis J. Whitfield of Harvard University.

Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, has arranged to grant annually a limited number of fellowships to encourage studies of special merit in the field of Virginia history. These fellowships are awarded through the Department of Research and Record of this institution at Williamsburg, Virginia. They are also designed to promote the publication of studies in this field. The awards are made upon the condition that recipients shall submit the completed product of their researches for publication in the Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies. The scope of the series has been defined as the history of Williamsburg and the origin, development, and expansion of the civilization of which this city was the center. Seven fellowships were awarded for 1940. Candidates for fellowships during 1941 must have their applications on file not later than March 1, 1941. Requests for application forms, bulletins, or other information should be addressed to Hunter D. Farish, Director, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Research seminars in the history of English and American civilization are being held periodically at the Huntington Library during the present academic year, participated in by members of the permanent research staff, research fellows of the library, visiting scholars from Eastern institutions, students and faculty members from neighboring colleges and universities actively engaged in research at the library, and holders of fellowships from other research foundations, who are carrying on investigations there this year. The seminars were established at the request of several universities

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whose advanced graduate students have been coming in increasing numbers to the Huntington Library.

PERSONAL

Henri Laurent, one of the brilliant younger Belgian historians of the postwar generation, was lost in the sinking of the British transport *Abukir,* torpedoed in the English Channel during the night of May 27-28. The ship was carrying some two hundred refugees from Ostend to England when it was attacked by a German submarine. Laurent was born in Liége on November 16, 1903, and received his training principally in the University of Brussels and at the École pratique des hautes études in Paris. Like many of his compatriots, he found time for further study in Germany and Vienna before beginning his academic career. At the time of his death he was professor of medieval and economic history in the University of Brussels. He had also served at various times as visiting professor at the Universities of Geneva and Dijon and at Trinity College, Dublin. Though he never enjoyed robust health, Laurent was an assiduous worker and has left an exceptionally large number of distinguished works for one who died so young. Medieval economic history and the political history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were his main interests, and he contributed many studies in these fields to *Le moyen âge,* the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale,* the *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire,* the *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire,* and similar journals. His more extended works include *La loi de Gresham au moyen âge* (1932), *Actes et documents concernant la Belgique aux Archives de l'État à Vienne* (1932), and *Un grand commerce d'exportation au moyen âge* (1935). In 1929 Laurent married Miss Harriet Moriarty of Massachusetts, and their home in Brussels soon became a hospitable center where Belgian and American scholars often met. Laurent had a real affection for America and a true understanding of the American scene, an understanding greatly deepened by a happy sojourn in the United States during the summer and fall of 1933. His interest in America prompted him to publish for the Commission royale d'histoire the dispatches of Hugh Swinton Legaré, first American chargé d'affaires to Belgium, 1832. All that he wrote was characterized by sound, rigorous method, clarity and charm of exposition. A busy professor, he nevertheless lent his voice and his pen when the needs of his country called, and he was of that little group of scholars—many of them historians—who fought political chicanery boldly and effectively in the pages of *Le flambeau* and other journals. Whether their voices were raised too late and their pens wrote in vain cannot yet be known.

Eileen Power died suddenly of heart failure in a London street on August 8. News of her death came as a great shock and grief to her many friends in England and this country. She was a vivid and charming person, with much historical imagination and unusual power of artistic presentation. She died in the midst of her achievements, with the promise of years of successful

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and valuable historical work ahead. She was born in 1889 and educated at Oxford and at Girton College, where she was later director of historical studies (1913-20). She studied at the Sorbonne and held the traveling Albert Kahn fellowship, which enabled her to visit the Far East, where her imagination and affection were captured by China, as she shows in her poem *Pekin*. She came to America several times, lecturing especially at Barnard. Some of us will remember her delightful wit and distinction when she spoke at a meeting of the Mediaeval Academy, of which she was made corresponding fellow. She held several honorary degrees. She was Ford's Lecturer at Oxford in 1938-39, speaking on her chosen subject, the medieval English wool trade, on which she had already published important work. She held several posts in the London School of Economics and became professor of economic history in London University in 1931, a post she held at the time of her death. In 1937 she married Professor Postan of Cambridge University. Her published work includes the following: *The Paycockes of Coggeshall* (1919), *Medieval English Nunneries* (1922), *Medieval People* (1924), *The Goodman of Paris* (1928). With Professor Tawney she edited three volumes of *Tudar Economic Documents* (1924) and, with Professor Postan, *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (1933). At the time of her death she was assisting in editing the *Economic History Review* and, with Professor Clapham, the first volume of the *Cambridge Economic History*.

Howard Millar Chapin, who died at his home in Providence on September 18, was born in that city on May 11, 1887. Graduated from Brown University in 1908, his interest in local and family history carried him, in 1912, after a few years of business experience, to the librarianship of the Rhode Island Historical Society, with which, in the period 1917-25, he combined the care of the valuable Rhode Island library of Colonel George L. Shepley of Providence. That library is now, due to Chapin's later efforts at securing it, merged with the Historical Society's collection. Chapin's chief interests were Rhode Island history, heraldry, flags, maritime history, New England colonial wars, and dogs. On these subjects he wrote voluminously, and though his writings were not always the final word, they invariably opened the way to the clarification of the subjects of which they treated. Characteristic of his broad interests were the following works: *The Seal, the Arms, and the Flag of Rhode Island* (1913), *The Printing Press of the French Fleet* (1914), *Check List of Rhode Island Almanacs* (1915), *Report upon the Burial Place of Roger Williams* (1918), *Rhode Island in the Colonial Wars* (1918), *Dogs in Early New England* (1920), *New England Vessels in the Expedition against Louisbourg* (1923), *Sachems of the Narragansetts* (1931), *The Trading Post of Roger Williams* (1933), *A Roll of Arms of Cities and Towns in the United States* (1935). Of a number of important editorial undertakings the most useful to the historian was his *Documentary History of Rhode Island* (2 vols., 1916-20). Chapin's knowledge was so admirably tabulated in his mind that any inquiry addressed to him

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received instant reply. This characteristic and his helpful, friendly spirit made him a valuable servant of his city and state; his death touched a wider circle than ordinarily would be expected in the case of one whose life was devoted to quietly pursued scholarship and intimate friendly intercourse.

After an illness of two months Otto Hufeland, curator of the Westchester County Historical Society, died on October 15 at the age of eighty-five. Though his name was not widely known in academic circles, his studies in the history of the province and state of New York commanded the respect of professional historians. Trained in New York City as a civil engineer, Mr. Hufeland early began collecting books, pamphlets, and maps dealing with Westchester County. This interest led him to prepare a *Checklist of Books and Maps relating to the Counties of Westchester and the Bronx* (White Plains, 1929) and to write an important monograph, *Westchester County during the Revolution* (White Plains, 1926), in which he undertook to correct some of the errors that oral tradition had long perpetuated. Many of his essays, most of which deal with New York during the Revolutionary era, may be found in the various publications of the Westchester County Historical Society.

Holland Thompson, authority on Southern history, died suddenly at his home in New York City on October 21 at the age of sixty-seven. His death occurred within two months of his retirement as professor of history at the City College of New York, where he had taught for forty years. Professor Thompson was a native of North Carolina and a graduate of the University of North Carolina. He received his doctorate from Columbia University in 1906. In 1935 the University of North Carolina conferred upon him the LL.D. degree. He was an insatiable reader, and the vast range of his information was evident in his teaching, his writing, and his casual conversation. His major field of interest was the South since the Civil War, particularly the economic and social aspects of the transformation of that section since 1865. Two of his books, *From Cotton Field to Cotton Mill* and *The New South,* the latter in the Chronicles of America series, are familiar to all students of American history. His many articles, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly, Annals of the American Academy, Review of Reviews,* and *American Historical Review,* show insight into, and understanding of, many aspects of post-bellum Southern life. Professor Thompson did not confine his study or writing to one phase of American history. He was deeply interested in industrial techniques and their improvement. His *Age of Invention,* also published in the Chronicles of America, is one of his most popular books. He found time for considerable editorial work, serving as editor of the *Book of Knowledge.* He was a most valuable and active member of the college community, supervising much of the work of his department, the numerous faculty committees, and the City College Chapter of the A. A. U. P., of which he was at one time president. As a teacher he demanded wide and intelligent

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reading from his students and helped to implant in many of them a directed curiosity.

Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, who died on October 29 at the age of ninety-two, rendered important services to the cause of history in England. He was a member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, served it for a number of years as an inspector, and edited several of its *Reports*. From 1886 to 1926 he was Deputy Keeper of the Records at the Public Record Office. His *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England* (1926) is an important contribution to English administrative history from the thirteenth century to the twentieth. His other publications include a *History of the University of Oxford* (1886), *History of Dunster* (1909), and *Some Somerset Manors* (1931). Sir Henry was a graduate of Christ Church College and an honorary doctor of letters of Oxford, a fellow of the British Academy, and a member of the Athenaeum and the Somerset Record Society.

Nicolae Iorga, dean of Rumanian historians, was killed on November 27 by members of the Iron Guard. Born in 1871, Iorga studied at Jassy, Paris, Berlin, and Leipzig and in 1895 became professor of universal history at Bucharest University. His studies of the crusades of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, his *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes* (2 vols., Gotha, 1905), and his *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (5 vols., Gotha, 1908-12) established him as a pre-eminent authority on the history of Southeastern Europe. Through his university teaching and through special courses at Vălenii-de-Munte Iorga exerted a strong influence on several generations of Rumanian intellectuals. His scholarly and literary output was phenomenal; it was estimated in 1933 that he had produced over eight hundred books and ten thousand articles. For the historian of a resurgent people, and especially for a man of Iorga's temperament, it was inevitable that he should become involved in nationalist polemics; his controversies with Hungarian historians were particularly bitter and prolonged. During recent years Iorga also carried on a fierce and involved polemic with Giurăscu, an able Rumanian scholar, regarding their divergent interpretations of Rumanian history. Partly because of this controversy he set about rewriting his standard account of Rumanian history; before his death he had carried this work of vast erudition to the middle of the sixteenth century (*Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale,* 4 vols. in 5, Bucharest, 1937). During the same busy decade Iorga continued to make substantial contributions, notably in the study of Rumanian customary law, in the history of Byzantine and post-Byzantine civilization, and in the history of Rumanian art and literature. He was peculiarly qualified to write the history of Rumanian letters; as a vigorous critic and, after 1903, as editor of *Sămănătorul,* he had contributed greatly to foster what became the dominant literary current; with the *Sămănătorul* movement Rumanian literature turned toward the peasantry as the bearer of the genuine national language and as an inspiration for realistic

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creation rather than idyllic dreaming. Iorga himself wrote some twenty dramas, in verse and in prose. In addition to his scholarly and literary activities, either of which would have filled an ordinary life, he played an important role in Rumanian politics after 1905. Frequently a deputy, he also served as president of the chamber and as minister of education. He organized a group of his own, the Nationalist party, and wrote regularly for *Neamul românesc,* his party newspaper. A former tutor of Prince (later King) Carol, he supported Carol in his return to the throne; during the confusion of party and factional strife he emerged, in April, 1931, as president of the council of ministers, at the head of a short-lived, nonparty government. In more recent years Iorga denounced the extremists as a menace to Rumania's true national interests and character. His forthright attitude in domestic and foreign politics, together with his friendship for King Carol, in the end led to his assassination by a terrorist group of the Iron Guard.

This is not the place for a comprehensive obituary notice of George Brinton McClellan, who died in Washington on November 30 in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His most conspicuous activities and important accomplishments were in politics and came early in life, but after his retirement from the mayoralty of New York City, in 1909, he joined the faculty of Princeton, his alma mater, and quickly became one of the most popular figures on its campus. In 1912 he was appointed professor of economic history, and he held this position till 1930, when he was made emeritus. He is remembered by generations of Princetonians as a brilliant undergraduate lecturer. In the World War he served in the American Expeditionary Force as major and colonel in the Ordnance Department. Early in life McClellan became interested in Italian history, and his historical writings were principally in that field. *The Oligarchy of Venice* (1904) was published while he was mayor of New York. *Venice and Bonaparte* (1931) and *Modern Italy: A Short History* (1933) appeared after his academic retirement.

Joseph M. Murphy, director of the Bureau of Public Relations at the Catholic University of America and a life member of the American Historical Association, has been named as one of three trustees of the Dyer Memorial Library in Abington, Massachusetts, his former place of residence. The library was established by the will of Marietta W. Dyer, whose ancestors were one of the first three families to settle in Abington in the middle of the seventeenth century. A large building has already been erected, and the nucleus of the library has been established. It will be the duty of Mr. Murphy, whose academic work has been in the field of American colonial history, to complete the collection of historical and biographical works contemplated by Miss Dyer in her will.

C. P. Stacey, assistant professor of history at Princeton University, was commissioned a major in the Canadian Army in October and has been

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appointed Historical Officer, General Staff, Canadian Military Headquarters, London. He has received leave of absence from Princeton.

Charles A. Beard, now professor of American history at the Johns Hopkins University, is directing a seminar concerned with the problem of planning "an ideal history of American civilization". Procedure in the seminar consists of an analysis of that civilization with a view to discovering its characteristic phases, correlating the development of the several phases, arriving at a scheme of periodization, and devising an effective presentation of the whole.

Thomas A. Bailey, professor of American history at Stanford University, is delivering the Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History at the Johns Hopkins University during the present academic year. His subject is "The Policy of the United States toward the Neutrals, 1917-1918".

The Social Science Research Council announces the appointment of two research secretaries to its staff: Philip E. Mosely, associate professor of history at Cornell University, and Lloyd G. Reynolds, associate in political economy at the Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Mosely has been granted a year's leave of absence from Cornell, and Dr. Reynolds will devote half his time to Council work.

Announcement has been made at Cornell University that Carl L. Becker has been named John Wendell Anderson Professor of History and M. L. W. Laistner, John Stambaugh Professor of History.

The following appointments are noted: *Cornell University,* David Harris of Stanford University as acting associate professor for the current academic year; *Lawrence College,* William Bark of Stanford University as assistant professor.

A. A. Rogers is engaged in compiling a work on the family and family life in Virginia during the colonial period. He would appreciate it if any of our readers who may have data or suggestions to make on this subject would communicate with him. Address: Box 1041, University Station, Charlottesville, Virginia.

George H. Knoles of Stanford University, California, would appreciate it if any of our readers possessing information regarding the present location of papers, documents, or other materials relating to the life and public services of David Bennett Hill would communicate with him.

Edward A. Fitzpatrick, president of Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, is engaged in the preparation of a biography of Charles McCarthy, former legislative reference librarian of the state of Wisconsin. He would be grateful to any of our readers who may have any material or information relating to Dr. McCarthy if they would communicate with him.

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